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THE HOLY SPIRIT

IN


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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
(A) INTRODUCTION.	1 - 9
1. Occasion for Selection of Thesis	1
2. Aim and Purpose.	4
3. Method of Procedure	5
(B) A REVIEW OF IMPORTANT WORKS OF INVESTIGATION	10 - 38
I -- THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF "THE HOLY SPIRIT" TRADITION	39 - 98
1. BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONCEPTION	39-81
(1) "The Spirit" (ruach) in the Old Testament	39
i. "The Spirit" as Divine, Dynamic Power	43
Tabular Exhibit	54
ii. "The Spirit" as Ethical.	55
Tabular Exhibit	62
(2) "Spirit" (πνεῦμα) in Greek Literature.	65
(3) "The Spirit" in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	67
(4) "The Spirit" in Jewish-Greek Writings.	70
(5) πνεῦμα in the Mystery Cults and Magical Formulae	73
(6) "The Spirit" in the Rabbinical Literature	75
2. THE NEW TESTAMENT VIEW OF "THE HOLY SPIRIT" (Exclusive of the Lucan Writings)	82-98
(1) The Synoptic Gospels, Mark and Matthew.	82
(2) "The Spirit" in the Writings of Paul	89
i. πνεῦμα and Σάπξ	91
ii. "The Spirit" and Christ.	94
iii. Other uses of "The Spirit".	96
(3) "The Spirit" in the Johannine Writings	98
II -- "THE HOLY SPIRIT" IN THE THIRD GOSPEL.	99 - 130
1. Detailed Study of References to "the Holy Spirit"	100
2. Luke's Non-Use of "the Holy Spirit".	120
Tabular Exhibit	125
3. Observations and Findings.	125
4. Summary Statement of "The Holy Spirit" Tradition in the Third Gospel.	127
III -- "THE HOLY SPIRIT" IN THE BOOK OF ACTS	131 - 200
Tabular list of references	132
1. Detailed Investigation of "the Holy Spirit" usage	133
2. Detailed Investigation of "the Spirit" usage.	156
3. "The Holy Spirit" Tradition in Acts.	164
4. Comparison of this Tradition with the Synoptic and Pauline usage.	175
5. Distribution of References to "the Holy Spirit" Throughout Acts and Its Significance	181
Tabular Exhibit	183
(1) The We-sections.	184
(2) Chapters 16-28 (excluding the We-sections)	186
(3) Chapters 1-15	190
6. Observations and Findings.	198

IV -- THE BEARING OF THIS INVESTIGATION UPON
THE PROBLEM OF LUKE'S SOURCE MATERIAL. 201 - 237

1. "The Holy Spirit"-Peter-Jerusalem Connection in Acts 1-15.	201
Tabular Exhibit.	203
2. Luke's Sources for Acts 1-15	213
(1) Acts of Peter	216
(2) Acts of Barnabas (and Saul?)	220
(3) Acts of The Seven	224
3. Sources for Acts 16-28.	230
4. Sources for Luke 1 and 2.	232
5. Luke's Version of 2.	235

V -- A SUMMARY STATEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITIONS. 238 - 247

VI -- A STATEMENT OF EMERGENT CONCLUSIONS. 248 - 252

VII - Bibliography 253 - 259

VIII- Autobiographical Statement. 260

LUKE'S USE OF THE EXPRESSION "THE HOLY SPIRIT":

ITS BEARING UPON THE PROBLEM OF HIS SOURCES

(A) INTRODUCTION

1. Occasion for Selection of Thesis

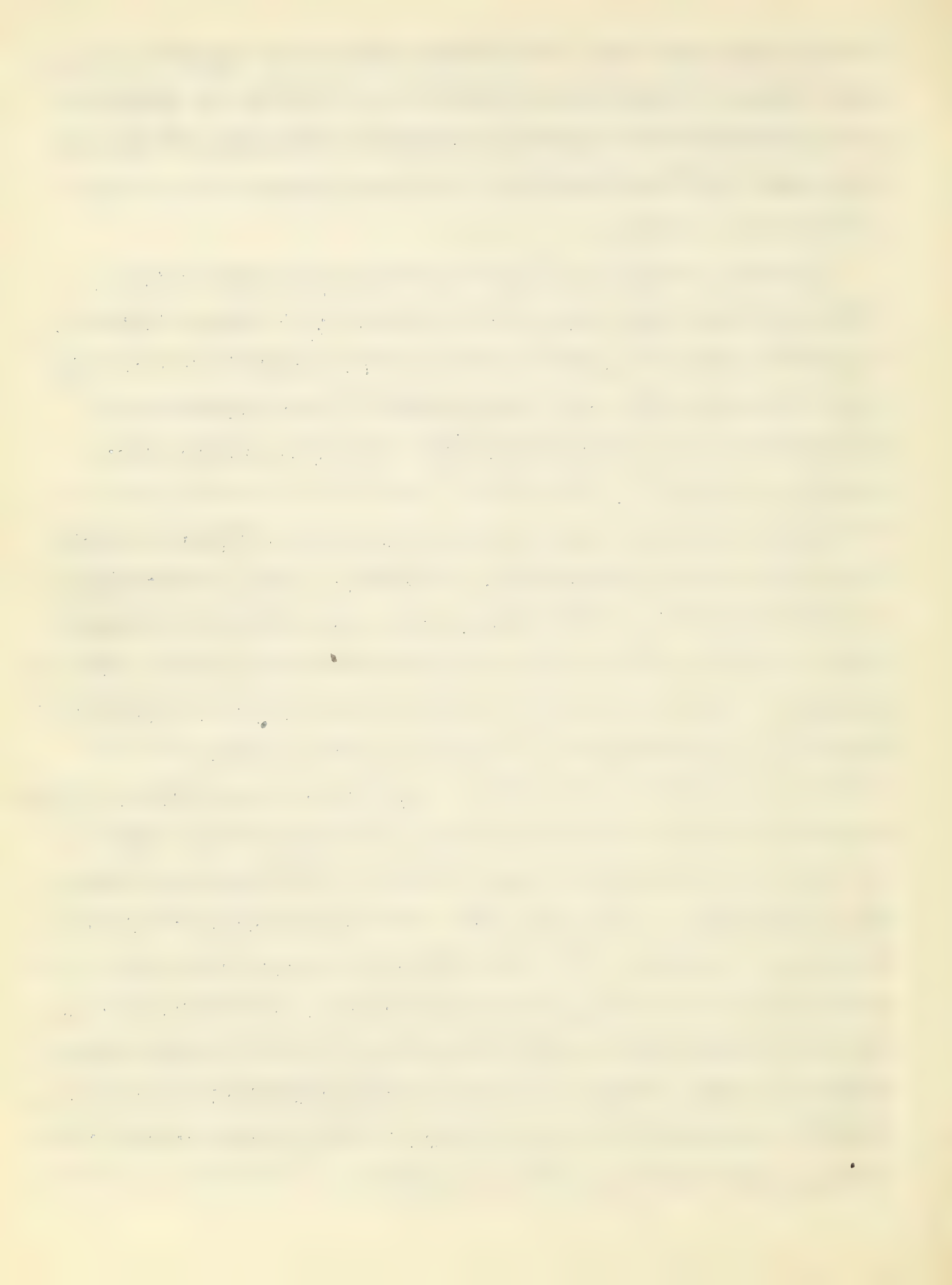
The stimulus for this particular investigation was furnished two years ago by a fresh re-reading of the Third Gospel, at which time there came with the newness of discovery the realization that Luke makes use of "the Holy Spirit" with a frequency out of all proportion to that of Mark and Matthew. Then came recollection that the phrase is unusually frequent in the first half of the Book of Acts. The first immediate suggestion was that for some special and definite reason the writer had an affinity for this phrase. Why? What is the relationship, if any, between the frequent Gospel usage, especially in chapters 1 and 2, and the early tradition in Acts, gathering about the story of the outpouring of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost?--just those sections which have constituted the storm-centers of source-criticism for those interested in the study of the Third Gospel and the Acts. Naturally, there might be some connection between the Lucan use of "the Holy Spirit" and his source material. There was the instinctive feeling that there was something worthy of further investigation. Here was a subject, the treatment of which had not yet come to my attention in the study of New Testament problems--an approach to the problem

of Lucan sources that did not follow a beaten path. If it could be shown that Luke's use of the phrase was occasioned by its appearance in source material which he was transmitting with fidelity, some instructive and constructive results might be obtained which would throw light upon the problem of his sources. The belief is widely current that this versatile writer introduced "the Holy Spirit" as an editorial insertion on every appropriate occasion, either because of his historical sense and imagination or his fondness for the phrase and its connotation. But does this assumption bear the test of investigation? Is Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" editorial or was the phrase contained in the source material used by him? Herein was detected an open problem worthy of careful study. "The Holy Spirit" stood for something in the mind of Luke or the author of the source used by him or both. Back of the phrase was a rich content of inner meaning. Whether the results and findings proved positive or negative in character they promised to be fruitful. On the one hand they would establish an easy assumption as valid and settle the question of any possible relation between "the Holy Spirit" usage and the source problems connected with the Lucan writings. On the other hand there was held out the promise of more significant and influential findings which would have some important bearing upon the nature and character of Luke's sources.

The problem was there. The material seemed to be sufficient and available. The invitation of the theme was attractive and promising. Intuition urged me to accept the challenge of the problem and as this investigation has progressed the conviction has steadily grown that

here are many valid data. The present task is the attempt to uncover some of these findings and to educe such evidence as the investigation justifies in the hope that something constructive and contributory toward the clarification of the source problems for the Lucan writings may be found.

A further stimulus to the selection of this thesis was the conviction that such a study would bring us to an appreciation of the moving, spiritual dynamic which not only enlivens our New Testament records but which also helps account for the development of Christian life and the Christian Church from the earliest time. Back of the phrase "the Holy Spirit" and behind the existence of a Holy Spirit tradition in the thought of the early Christian Church lies real, vital, profound, personal experience - the very soil out of which the flower of Christianity grew. The reality of such personal religious experiences is unquestioned and its validity must be accepted by any who would seek to enter at all closely into an understanding and appreciation of the written records of the life and thought of primitive Christianity. A factor in the selection of this particular subject for investigation, therefore, is the hope that it may offer something helpful for the support of Christian faith and the strengthening of Christian life. We are not interested in the doctrine or tradition of "The Holy Spirit" as such. In no sense is our study hindered by theological presuppositions or purposes. We are interested, however, in the reality of that for which "the Holy Spirit" stands. We shall attempt a critical and analytical, yet spiritually sensitive investigation of our theme. But the reader, too, must bring to this investigation not only an attitude of fair, unbiased criticism



but also an attitude no less valuable and important--sympathetic toward and appreciative of the value of those religious factors in the life of earliest Christianity presented through the medium of the expression, "the Holy Spirit".

2. AIM AND PURPOSE

Our investigation will be subjected to the tests of literary and historical criticism as it proceeds to inquire whether the references to "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts were due in the first instance to Luke, whom we assume to be the author, or were transmitted by him from underlying sources which embodied this expression.

We shall aim to bring the results of our investigation of this first problem to bear directly upon those sections of the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts which contain references to "the Holy Spirit" in the attempt to determine what light this further investigation may shed upon the major problem of the nature and character of Luke's underlying source material for the Gospel and the Acts.

Our purpose is not too pretentious. We recognize that at present it is impossible to define with certainty the limits and character of Luke's source material because of insufficient external evidence. Likewise, we can not expect too much of the modest critical tool within our hands. The writer knows he is an apprentice and is neither proficient in the use of the instruments suitable for the master-workman nor is he to be trusted with such keen-edged and more satisfactory tools. "The Holy Spirit" is a tool of "form-criticism" type. It cannot fashion any beautifully finished product. It can work upon the raw material and get it ready for the craftsman.



5

This investigation should provide material for further investigation. We shall hope to bring certain findings to light which have an important bearing upon the problem of Luke's sources. But we cannot settle the problem nor go over into the fields of historical and literary criticism which deal with the problems of language, date, authorship, etc. We shall endeavor to stay within the limits of our subject and field of criticism.

3. METHOD OF PROCEDURE

At the beginning of any investigation certain hypotheses must be selected preferentially and accepted without the necessity for apology and justification. In this dissertation we shall take our position with the great majority of modern New Testament students in holding that Luke, the companion of Paul, was the author of the Acts and the Third Gospel. The cumulative evidence of Sir John C. Hawkins' piece of painstaking research¹ is sufficiently weighty to support this thesis even against a few influential scholars who suppose some unknown writer as the joint editor of Luke-Acts. We hold to the essential unity of the two works of which Luke, the companion of Paul, was the author. It will be assumed, also, that in the Gospel Luke makes use of at least two written sources, Mark and Q, and that the Acts falls into three sections: - Chapters 1-15; the "we"-sections; and Chapters 16-28, exclusive of the "we" sections.

The method of procedure will be to make a comparative study of the Lucan use of "the Holy Spirit" in both his Gospel and Acts on the basis of external and internal evidence. Our findings will be applied to Luke's source material.

"The Holy Spirit" is filled with a wealth of idea-content

¹ "Hortae Synopticae", Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1909

and has its roots deep in the past history of religious thought. In order to gain a clearer understanding of the New Testament usage, something of this background will be sketched in and reconstructed, against which to test each Lucan reference to "the Holy Spirit".

Hence, we shall trace rapidly the etymological development of the term from its earliest appearance in the Old Testament literature; through the literature of Greece; as it appears in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; in the Alexandrian Judaism of Philo; and in the Patristical literature of the New Testament era. The New Testament usage will be brought out in a treatment of its appearance and meaning in the Synoptic Gospels of Mark and Matthew, in the writings of Paul, and in the Johannine literature.

Our first major consideration will be an investigation of "the Holy Spirit" as it finds expression in the Third Gospel. The 13 occurrences of the phrase and the 4 references to "the Spirit" in a sense synonymous with the spirit of God will receive detailed treatment. This will include the test of textual reliability; a comparative study of individual passages in relation to parallel passages in Mark and Q, where such are present; the idea-content; etc. Certain observations and findings will be tabulated and a chart, exhibit will visualize the results of this study, especially as they point with high probability to the use of written sources for "the Holy Spirit".

The next procedure will be a corresponding treatment of "the Holy Spirit" in Acts, necessarily omitting the text of external evidence. The abundance of material here - 42 occurrences of "the Holy Spirit" and 12 references to "the Spirit" in a synonymous sense - will enable us to present some important observations and findings. In fact, our investigation of Acts will supply our strongest and most valuable evidence for

arriving at the conclusions which bear directly upon the source problem. At the conclusion of this detailed study of individual usage of the 54 references a composite picture will be projected of the Holy Spirit tradition in Acts to be followed by a comparison with the synoptic tradition on the one hand and the Pauline on the other for the purpose of showing that it occupies a middle position as the tradition of primitive Jewish Christianity connected with Jerusalem and is uninfluenced by Pauline thought in its transmission by Luke, who reports with fidelity.

By presenting an exhibit of the distribution of our 54 references throughout Acts we note that Chapters 1-15 include 44 occurrences; the "we" sections, 2; and the remainder of Chapters 16-28 contain 8 references. The close analysis of these sectional references beginning with the "we" sections and closing with Acts 1-15 reinforces our Gospel findings that Luke uses "the Holy Spirit" only when it is communicated to him by his sources. His usage is not in a single case editorially interpolative. This more intensive study provides us with new evidence as well. For one thing it is clear that Acts 1-15 localizes a definite Holy Spirit tradition belonging to the Jerusalem Church and thoroughly saturated with Jewish-Christian thought. This tradition renders the entire section homogeneous. All this evidence we proceed to collect and present as "Observations and Findings".

Now we are in a position to inquire what bearing our evidence has upon the source problems of Acts and the Third Gospel. This time we present another exhibit listing our 44 references to the Holy Spirit in Acts 1-15 in the order of their appearance in the text and as they feature persons and places. A striking fact presents itself. There is a definite liaison between "the Holy Spirit"-Peter-Jerusalem. In the process of explaining this phenomenon we discover Acts 1-15 to be the story of

the expansion of Christianity among Jews, Hellenists, and "God-fearers" (uncircumcised foreigners who were attracted by and observed certain features of Judaism) within the Jerusalem Church itself, although this expansion occurs in Samaria, Judea, Caesarea, and Antioch. The entire narrative, made homogeneous by the Holy Spirit tradition, is told from the standpoint of the Jerusalem Church. The Christian missionary movement is inaugurated by members of the Jerusalem Church which sponsors, approves, supervises and regulates these mission churches as it assists their growth. Jerusalem Church tradition is presented to us in this section.

We proceed to analyze further this homogeneous primitive-Christian tradition to discover, if possible, traces of underlying written sources. Compressing by grouping the 44 references in the order of their appearance and about the chief person involved in each case, we discover 12 separate blocks of material. Their order and arrangement immediately point to the existence and Lucan use of written sources, as we know from his similar arrangement and treatment of Mark and Q source material in his gospel. We take the next and logical step and are able to distinguish three distinct written sources underlying Acts 1-15 and presenting primitive Christian records belonging to the Jerusalem Church. We call these documents Acts of Peter; Acts of Barnabas (and Saul); Acts of the Seven; and are able to define their limits roughly.

Next we indicate the bearing of our study upon the sources for Acts 16-28 and show that it confirms the theory of oral tradition for all except the "we"-sections. Also, it lends further credibility to the authenticity of Paul's speech to the elders at Miletus.

In turning our attention now to the problem of Lk. 1 and 2, where "the Holy Spirit" occurs 7 times and knits together most of the context

in these chapters, we note that our study adds confirmation to the theory of a written source; stamps this source as representing Jewish Christianity in the circle of the Jerusalem Church; suggests a date not later than the tradition incorporated in Acts 1-5; and seems to indicate that Luke himself incorporated the tradition in these chapters as an integral part of his gospel.

Our last consideration is that of the bearing of our investigation upon Luke's version of Q. The existence of a Holy Spirit tradition in connection with narrative and discourse material concerning Jesus in Lk. 3:1-4:30 binds this section into a homogeneous unit and suggests this as the earliest teaching of primitive Jerusalem Christianity. This version of Q, then, bears the impress of earliest Jerusalem Christianity and there is a strong probability that it is earlier than the recension used by Matthew.

(B) [A REVIEW OF IMPORTANT WORKS OF INVESTIGATION
WHICH ARE RELEVANT TO OUR STUDY
-----]

A survey of the works produced by investigators which bear directly upon our problem and theme is necessarily not extensive. First, so far as I am aware, a study of Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" as an approach to the problem of his sources has not deliberately and exclusively been made a subject for research. Again, in only a secondary and indirect way do we in this investigation touch upon and draw from many fields of New Testament study. Some we do not touch. For example, because our subject centers about Holy Spirit, Luke, Third Gospel, Acts, and Sources does not mean that we should list for brief review all the important works on the history of dogma, New Testament theology, etc. These are not relevant to our study. Likewise, we must omit for consideration many rich and lasting contributions to New Testament knowledge in the fields of textual, literary, and historical criticism. There will be selected, therefore, the works of those investigators who have contributed directly:-

1. To the historical development of "Holy Spirit" usage, especially as it appears in the New Testament.
2. To an appreciation of Luke, -the characteristics of the writer and the character of his works.
3. To the progress of investigation with respect to the nature and character of the sources of the Third Gospel and Acts.

In order to reconstruct the background of New Testament thought concerning the Holy Spirit we are interested in the historical development of the idea-content. One of the best etymological studies in English is that presented by F.D. Horton in "Spirit, Soul, and Flesh".¹ In concise form

¹ The bibliography should be consulted for full data on books suggested in the following pages.

a comparative and critical résumé is presented of the use and connotation of these terms as they appear in ancient Greek and Hebrew literature with the purpose in view of laying a lexicographical foundation for the usage of these terms as they appear in the New Testament writings. His study covers in chronological order the whole range of Greek literature from Homer to Aristotle and on through the post-classical, pre-Christian, and early Christian writers, as well as the ethnic religious writings contemporary with the New Testament era. Beside this monument of Greek usage the structure of thought raised by the Hebrew and Jewish usage towers with its foundations sunk deeply in the Old Testament, with its unique conception and use of the spirit. This development is traced through the writings of the Old Testament and of the Alexandrian Judaism represented by Philo. The study of the New Testament usage includes the Synoptic, Pauline, and Johannine conceptions.

To appreciate the reality of the religious experience behind the Holy Spirit tradition in the life and thought of the earliest Christians we mention the recent volume of D. Friedrich Eüchsel, "Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament". It is valuable for its real contributions, exhaustive in its research, clear in its historical insight and perspective, and sensitively appreciative in its interpretations of the historical facts discovered. The Holy Spirit tradition of primitive Christianity is linked through Jesus to an ancient and important past, which the author opens up for purposes of orientation. In the study of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament; of "spirit" in Greek literature; of the Spirit of God in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; and "the spirit" in the writings of Alexandrian Judaism the author's basic findings agree with those set forth by Earton, but his exhaustive historical treatment enables us to see the text in its context and to gain some larger

conception of the character and significance of the development of our Holy Spirit tradition. His chapter on the use of "the Spirit" in the mystery cults, in magical texts, and in the allied phenomena of Hellenism just contemporary with the Christian era presents sufficient data and evidence to counteract the influence of such modern writers as Reitzenstein¹ and Kennedy² who stress unduly the importance of the syncretistic element in shaping the development of early Christian thought and forms of worship. His presentation of "the Spirit of God" in the Rabbinical literature illuminates contemporary thought among the official leaders of Judaism. In an important chapter on John the Baptist, the significance of that prophet for the primitive Christian thought and experience of possession of "the Holy Spirit" lies in the fact that he took the Old Testament thoughts of the outpouring of the Spirit in the future and linked them formally to the thoughts concerning the Messiah, bringing both expectations close to the living present. For John, the Messiah was the giver of the Spirit of God for the inner renewal of man. The fact that Jesus is the foundation for the establishment of the unique Holy Spirit tradition in the thought and experience of the early Christian community is sufficient warrant for the important section devoted to the relation of the Spirit to Jesus, the "Pneumatiker", whose own religious experience of the Spirit of God and whose example laid the foundation for the dynamic Holy Spirit tradition of primitive Christianity. This historically-forged, unbroken chain of Holy Spirit tradition is next linked to the amazing personality of Paul, whose vast significance for the development of its Christian idea- and experiential

¹ R. Reitzenstein, "Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen"

² H. Kennedy, "The Mystery Religions and Christianity"

content is clearly made evident by a close synoptic study of "the Spirit" in its meaning for his life and thought. The "Pneumatische" character of his own religious experience of possession; of his life work; of the enemies of the Spirit against which he was obliged constantly to contend; --all were influential in shaping his presentation of the Spirit in his teaching and preaching as well as influential in assigning him his permanently high place in the historical development of "the Holy Spirit" tradition as the expression of the operation of the divine spirit in human life.

The study is brought to a close with a historical treatment of the Spirit as it appears in the Johannine thought and literature and in the remaining writings of the New Testament. The Spirit is the Spirit of Truth in the Johannine writings but does not depart from the Jewish tradition, for it is still the Holy Spirit of God. Father, the holiness and divinity of the Spirit consist in the truth which the Spirit granted to him and to the community.

We have offered this review of Büchsel's work because it is a valuable contribution towards an understanding of the New Testament usage of "the Holy Spirit", especially in the Lucan writings. The Holy Spirit tradition is established on definitely historical and objectively valid grounds, despite the fact that its history is that of personal, religious experience and the record of the actual fact of the Spirit of God operative in and through human life. This volume demonstrates the New Testament tradition as intellectually and religiously respectable. It is dissociated from subjectivism, from popular "mysticism", and from the extremes of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. What Büchsel says of Paul can be said of that which underlies the Holy Spirit tradition as a whole in the New Testament:--

"Wenn das Christentum des Paulus pneumatisch genannt wird, so heisst das keineswegs, dass es enthusiastisch, individualistisch oder auch nur subjektivistisch war." (p.442).

Since the New Testament tradition originates in Old Testament thought, we confine our survey to the field of Biblical literature. In a valuable work by I.F.Wood,¹ the Hebrew traditions of Palestinian Judaism and the Old Testament thought are portrayed as the background of the New Testament tradition which is grounded in the teaching and example of Jesus and the religious experience of the early Christians. Because our study is aided by a historical presentation of our tradition in terms of experience for primitive Christianity rather than by the later ecclesiastical and theological interpretations of that early experience, we have not included for survey any of the important theological works on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

For an understanding of the particular usage and idea-content of the Spirit in the inter-testamental period, as represented by the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, there is no more important work than the series edited by Canon F.H.Charles.² The recent monumental production of Professor I.F.Moore³ is invaluable for determining what the Judaism of the period contemporary with the New Testament had to say concerning the operation of the Divine in human life. Hand in hand with this should be used the exhaustive and excellent work produced by H.Strack-P.Billerbeck⁴ for Lucan parallels in the Hattinic literature.

Important volumes which deal with the New Testament period of "the Spirit" as a phenomenon of historical experience and as a literary phrase and tradition should include that of E.F.Scott,⁵ who shows that the

¹ I.F.Wood, "The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature"

² F.H.Charles, "The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha". Also, "Eschatology: Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian".

³ I.F.Moore, "Judaism".

⁴ H.Strack-P.Billerbeck, "Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash". Vol. 2

⁵ E.F.Scott, "The Spirit in the New Testament"

Spirit was no primary conception of Jesus but an inheritance from the Old Testament; that the testimony of Acts is historically valid; that Paul's original contributions were grounded in the primitive church traditions upon which he built; that separate traditions were constructed about the Messiah and the Spirit and this distinction is preserved in New Testament thought, even in that of Paul.

A very valuable little volume for the task at hand is that of E.W. Winstanley¹, who presents a synopsis of all the passages contained in the New Testament upon "the Spirit" with a survey of the evidence for them. The second part contains a summary account of the general teaching of the New Testament literature from the evidence presented. Contributions to this field of study have been made by H. Weinel² and H. Gunkel.³ Both emphasize the dynamic, empirical character of the religious experience which underlay the tradition. Gunkel's definition:-

"The workings of the Holy Spirit are certain mysterious powers operating in the range of the life of men, which stand in a certain definite relation to the life of the Christian congregation, which in no case work damage to men, which frequently take place under the naming of God or Christ, and in all cases belong only to such men as are not unworthy of a connection with God" (p. 48)

recognizes the two facts of emotional experience and the Messianic purpose of that experience. But Gunkel puts the emphasis upon the entirely new and different endowments of the Spirit and their supernatural, divine character, rather than regarding the gifts of the Spirit as the enhancement of natural, human powers and faculties. In connection with the first appearances of the idea in the Old Testament, he notes that not always does the activity of the Spirit have significance for working the purposes of God. His theory that the gift of the Spirit brought into

¹ E.W. Winstanley, "Spirit in the New Testament."

² H. Weinel, "Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister"

³ H. Gunkel, "Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes"



play entirely new powers causes him to see little trace of ancestral ethico-religious thought in Paul's conception of the Spirit, which he considers absolutely new, original, and unique, having its source in Paul's own experience; as against H.H. Wendt¹, who thinks that Paul derived his thoughts of the Spirit from the ethical-religious activities of the Spirit in the Old Testament. These two scholars are at variance again as to Jesus' teaching of the Spirit in the Fourth Gospel. Funkel regards it as due to the author and not original with Jesus. Wendt makes it a part of his apostolic source but supposes that this element is psychological rather than theological and corresponds to "eternal life". Weinel has identified glossolalia with Christian church prophecy and collected many instances of such ecstatic utterances as the expression of profound religious experience from later Christian history. He regards Acts 2:4, 6-11 as interpolations which prove that the editor lived in a time when these phenomena were no longer known. He suggests that the first Christian century witnessed a veritable epidemic of nervous disorders which were aided by suggestion and auto-suggestion, and further stimulated by feverish expectations of the imminent end of the world.

Before leaving those works which are concerned with the Holy Spirit, we should mention what is perhaps the best presentation in French, - the study by J. Arnal.² Many valuable contributions and suggestions are derived from articles on "The Holy Spirit" in Bible dictionaries³ and the historical treatment of the tradition as it impressed itself upon the life of primitive Christianity which we find in various histories of the apostolic age.⁴

¹ H. H. Wendt, "Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist in biblischen Sprachgebrauch"

² J. Arnal, "La Notion de L'Esprit"

³ e.g. H. Spete in P. D. R. Vol. 2. J. Denney in D. C. C. Vol. 1. P. Schmiedel in

⁴ e.g. works on "The Apostolic Age" by individual authors such as Weizsäcker, A. McGiffert, J. H. Ropes, etc.

It is an investigation of Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" with which we are engaged. We must know something about his personal and literary characteristics; his literary style and methods; something of the purposes which guided him in the selection of the source material. A volume which serves admirably as an introduction has been written by H. McLachlan¹. It presents in a popular yet informing, scholarly manner the best results that investigation and research have to offer. The literary habits as they appear from a critical study of the writings of Luke are here given. Much more penetrating and exhaustive is the painstaking investigation of the Lucan literary method and style made by H. J. Cadbury.² This study proceeds from a careful comparison of Luke's use and treatment of Marcan and non-Markan (including Q) material in the Third Gospel. A further and original contribution of Dr. Cadbury to the knowledge of Luke's literary style and characteristics is presented in his most recent volume.³ Any lingering doubts as to the authorship of Acts and the Third Gospel by the same author are finally dispelled. The literary and historical unity of the two writings are so close that "Luke-Acts" best expresses this unitary production whose composition has been determined by four factors which are elaborated to constitute the body of this volume: - accessible materials; conventional media of thought and expression; the author's individuality; and the author's conscious purpose.

Sir John Hawkins⁴ is an important predecessor of Cadbury in demonstrating the literary unity of Luke and Acts and single authorship on the basis of evidence furnished by linguistic and stylistic data.

¹ H. McLachlan, "St. Luke: The Man and His Work"

² H. J. Cadbury, "The Style and Literary Method of Luke"

³ " " " " "The Making of Luke-Acts"

⁴ J. C. Hawkins, "Horae Synopticae"

The labors of Adolph Harnack have set forth Luke invested with the credentials of a first century historian and demonstrated that both the Third Gospel and Acts were written by Luke, the companion of Paul. His detailed, careful studies of the Lucan literary features, characteristics, and style are spread out over at least three important works which have passed over into English translation¹. Dr. Harnack's original, rich, and scholarly contributions in the fields of New Testament historical and literary research and criticism are everywhere recognized and appreciated. These three volumes are indispensable for our investigation.

An introduction to Luke and his literary monuments, admirably detailed and concisely presented, is contained in the introductory chapter of the commentary by A. Plummer.² Especially thorough is his treatment of Luke's stylistic and linguistic characteristics in the Third Gospel.

An author's conscious purpose always has much to do with the selection and treatment of his available source material. J. Weiss³ has made a contribution which reveals how important was Luke's purpose^{for} in the use of his source material in Acts. Other contributions from this standpoint will be suggested in the historical survey to follow.

Many of the best Introductions to the New Testament and its literature contain valuable information and suggestions toward an understanding of Luke's methods and style as a writer. Such a work as Dr. Moffatt's⁴ is a rich and ready reference volume, concise in its statements and summaries of the various theories advanced by other New Testament

¹ A. Harnack, "Luke, The Physician", "The Sayings of Jesus", "The Acts of the Apostles".

² A. Plummer, "The Gospel According to St. Luke". Other commentaries on the Third Gospel and Acts are valuable for these data.

³ J. Weiss, "Ueber die Absicht und den literarischen Charakter der Apostelgeschichte".

⁴ J. Moffatt, "Introduction to the New Testament". Cf. also "The Historical New Testament".

scholars, especially those relating to the source problems underlying the Third Gospel and Acts. Notable for its independence and essential soundness of judgment and stimulating for its treatment of disputed questions by the originality which the author brings to his study, is the Introduction by A. Jülicher.¹ His cautious restraint at other times provides a wholesome equanimity for the work as a whole.

A vast amount of investigation has grown up about the purpose and aim of Luke in Acts which has led to the close investigation of his sources. We shall consider some of the works which have furnished contributions from this viewpoint of purpose in the form of a brief, historical survey.²

We may well begin with the provocative criticism and important theory of F.C. Baur,³ the founder of the famous Tübingen school of criticism which grew out of the "Tübingen-theory" for Acts as well as for the entire history of early Christianity. This theory was that Jewish and Gentile Christianity required reconciliation and that the single purpose dominating all the New Testament writings was ironical and conciliatory in the attempt to bring into harmony two hostile parties led respectively by Peter and Paul. Acts is placed within this category of works of reconciliation and the parallels between Peter and Paul therein are considered to be due entirely to the author's pragmatic "Tendenz". This challenge to the traditional position that Luke's purpose and product were historical could not remain unanswered. There was brought into action a long line of critics, some supporting Baur and others defending the traditional view. Schneckenburger was

¹ A. Jülicher, "An Introduction to the New Testament,"

² We are largely indebted to the editors of "The Beginnings of Christianity," Part I, Vol. I, as well as to Moffatt's Introduction to the New Testament for suggestions comprising this survey.

³ In 1838 Baur first projected his revolutionary theory for the entire reconstruction of early Christian church history.

the first to respond in 1841.¹ While he admitted that Luke's purpose was apologetic rather than historical, he held to the essential historicity and accuracy of Acts. Luke neither altered nor invented facts to suit his purpose as Baur had suggested.

For a time the "Tendenz-theorie" of Baur was popular. To his defense came Schwegler² in 1846. But in 1854 Eduard Zeller, the son-in-law of Baur, presented what is perhaps the best exposition of the Tübingen theory.³ Having discovered from a close study the untrustworthiness of Acts, he finds the explanation in the apologetic purpose of the author to reconcile Jewish Christians and Paulinists by justifying the existence of Paulinism while yielding its extreme claims in the interests of concord. Two principles, however, the author will not sacrifice: - the apostolic authority of Paul and the universalism of the gospel - for his chief purpose is to convince the Jewish Christians of the legitimacy of free Gentile Christianity. Acts is addressed to both parties as a mediating work of compromise.

The tide of battle was turned against the Tübingen school by reinforcements from another direction. Bruno Baur⁴ rejected the theory on altogether different grounds than customary tendency towards reconciliation. He interpreted early catholicism not as a compromise between Jewish and Gentile Christianity but as a natural development of the Jewish spirit in the early church. Renan⁵ rejected the Tübingen theory on the ground that Luke, although a companion of Paul, did not know much about the real facts of the period he was describing. However, this was

¹ Schneckenburger, "Über den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte"

² A. Schwegler, "Das nachapostolische Zeitalter"

³ E. Zeller, "Die Apostelgeschichte, u. s. w." (English translation by J. Dare)

⁴ B. Baur, "Die Apostelgeschichte, u. s. w."

⁵ E. Renan, "Les Apôtres"

not necessary, since Luke's purpose was a religious one. While these opponents approached from another direction, J.P. Lightfoot,¹ one of the greatest scholars of his age, met Paul on his own ground, that of historical method, and demonstrated conclusively on the basis of scientific linguistic research, and without any polemical or apologetic purpose, the entire inaccuracy of the Tübingen position. He carefully recovered the progressive history of the relations between Jewish and Gentile Christianity and without isolating the New Testament literature from the remaining documents of early church history, he demonstrated the essential historicity of Acts and the fact that there was no need of reconciliation when Luke wrote. By a more thorough-going exegesis and faithful adherence to the real sources, Lightfoot reconstructed the course of early Christianity on solid, reliable foundations which shattered completely the theory of the Tübingen school.

With this collapse came, also, the downfall of the theory which considered Acts to be a second-century document, of the mediating party in the Christian church.

In 1870 another important work was produced in the criticism of Acts by F. Overbeck.² While he recognized the apologetic purpose instead of the historical, he maintained that Acts was not written to reconcile Jewish and Gentile Christianity, for when it appeared Gentile Christianity alone was in control and the conflict between Judaizers and Paulinists was in the past. Also, Overbeck recognized the political motive in Acts. On this account Acts did not conclude with the death of Paul but with his kindly treatment accorded during his two years at

¹ J. B. Lightfoot, Especially his famous commentaries on "Galatians" (1865), "Philippians" (1868), "Colossians and Philemon" (1875).

² F. Overbeck, Commentary on Acts in 4th ed. DeWette's "Kurse Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte".

Rome. However, Overbeck sees much that is untrustworthy in Acts.

Another member of the Tübingen school, Otto Pfleiderer,¹ in 1873 produced a work much more favorable to Acts in which he says:-

"It is probable that the author, possessed with a consciousness of his own time, in which Paulinism had in fact already become very different from what it was, apprehended in good faith the circumstances of the apostolic times also, and understood and honestly made use of his sources of information regarding it, with the presupposition that the relation of Jewish and heathen Christianity could have been no other in the time of primitive Christianity than it was in his own,; -namely, that of mutual approximation, agreement, and union of the more sober elements of both sides, in opposition to the extreme views of either party." (p.230-1)

The great difference between the critical schools of thought in the middle of the nineteenth century and of more recent times is stated clearly by H.J. Holtzmann²:-

"Where, according to the Tübingen criticism the author of Acts WOULD not see, according to the newer interpretation for the most part he COULD not see."

Coming into the twentieth century we are met with a variety of motives attributed to the writer of Acts. H. von Soden³ sees a political apology for Christianity in this work. R. Knopf⁴ can determine neither a clear purpose nor the author, who wrote about 100 A.D. It is plain, however, that he did not write a history merely but had a didactic, religious purpose, which was to instruct and edify his Christian readers by showing the hand of God in the life of the church and the divine power exercising itself through the ministry of the apostles. A modern French work by M. Goguel⁵ finds Acts to be no history in the modern sense of the word, since it is dominated by the pragmatism of a Pauline disciple

¹ O. Pfleiderer, "Paulinismus". English translation by E. Peters.

² H. J. Holtzmann, "Handkommentar zum N.T." Vol. I, p. 308

³ H. von Soden, "Urchristliche Literaturgeschichte"

⁴ R. Knopf, "Die Apostelgeschichte" (J. Weiss' series "Die Schriften d. N.T.")

⁵ M. Goguel, "Le Livre des Acts"

who aims to illustrate certain ideas such as universalism and the independence of Christianity from all legalism. It is an apology for Paul. A still more recent work by a fellow countryman, E. Jaquier,¹ as well as one by a Catholic writer, A. Wikenhauser,² support the traditional view of the historical motive for this Lucan writing as expressed in Acts 1:8. Luke's aim was to describe the historical expansion of Christianity beneath the divine guidance. Somewhat differently does another French writer, A. Loisy,³ regard the aim and composition of Acts. While Luke is the author to Theophilus, his work has been mutilated and recast by a redactor about 100 A.D. As it stands the book serves a double apologetic purpose, - not only as a defense for Christianity against the Jews but also as its defense before the Roman authorities. The thesis is that Christianity is the authentic form of the religion revealed to Israel, which revelation Israel disobeyed; consequently, Christianity came to occupy the legal position deserted by Israel. As a "religio licita" the Roman authorities should not share nor espouse the hatred directed against the Christians by the Jews.

One phase of the political, apologetic motive has been stressed recently by J. Still,⁴ who regards Acts as a defense for Paul, a legal brief, prepared especially for his impending trial before a Roman court.⁵ In chapter 4 the author issues a "call for intelligent imagination". In answering that call himself he only illustrates the fact that twentieth century scholarship has made no outstanding contributions to the criticism of Acts from the standpoint of the author's motive and purpose. Perhaps this is because every motive has already been exploited.

¹ E. Jaquier, "Les Actes des Apôtres"

² A. Wikenhauser, "Die Apostelgeschichte und ihr Geschichtswert"

³ A. Loisy, "Les Actes des Apôtres"

⁴ J. Still, "St. Paul On Trial"

⁵ of D. Ploock, "The Work of St. Luke: A Historical Apology of Pauline Preaching before the Roman Court". (Expositor, Dec. 1914, p518)

The important consideration is that all this critical effort to determine the motive and aim of Luke in Acts led to the investigation of his source material and turned many New Testament scholars in this direction to join their labors with those who have sought an explanation of the many omissions, repetitions, and other peculiarities in the sources of Acts.

Not until 1847 did there appear a thorough-going treatment of the source problem of Acts. In that year E. Schwanbeck¹ suggested a triple-source theory. The author of Acts made use of biographies of Peter and Barnabas, an account of the martyrdom of Stephen, and memoirs of Silas. The last included the "we" sections and lay behind Acts 15-28.

Since attention centered for many years upon the Tübingen school and its theories, it was not until after 1885 that the question of sources was re-opened. Then, apparently, criticism made up for lost time, for from that year forward theories have been advanced which are confusing both by their number and their diversity. One of the best surveys and arrangements of these involved theories is presented by Moffatt.²

According to R. Weiss,³ Acts 1-15 represents the written testimony of a Jewish-Christian eye-witness into whose work the redactor of Acts (who was Luke) introduced several of the passages which are denounced as contradictions and impossibilities. Luke also incorporated some narrative material received in the form of oral tradition which had to do mostly with Paul. Sources for the second half of Acts, which belongs to the history of Paul, indicate oral tradition most probably and rest upon the testimony of eye-witnesses. Those who hold to some form of a

¹ E. Schwanbeck, "Ueber die Quellen der Schriften des Lukas"

² J. Moffatt, "Introduction to the New Testament", pp. 286-289

³ R. Weiss, "Einleitung in das N.T." (3rd. auflage)

single source theory for the first half of Acts include Feine,¹ who detects a historically valuable Jewish-Christian document constituting a pre-canonical source. This extends throughout the Third Gospel and Acts 1-12. Blass² discovers a Jerusalem source by John Mark, who wrote a second work describing the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus and the acts of the Jerusalem disciples. (So, F. Burkitt³).

H. H. Wendt⁴ admits a written source to include not only the voyage-journal but also a history of Paul and the Gentile mission (Acts 13-28, omitting 15:1-33). For Acts 1-13 he does not believe it possible to define sources clearly. Although certain fragments seem to rest upon ancient tradition, it is impossible to say whether they are oral or written. However, it is clear that the author re-casts freely his remaining source data in order to suit his purpose of edification.

The two-source theory commands a large following of investigators. Spitta⁵ discerns two sources united and retouched slightly by a redactor near the end of the first century. Source A (of high historical value) was written by a companion of Paul, probably Luke, and extended from the last part of the Third Gospel throughout the Acts, embracing discourse material (Lk. 24:44-53, Acts 1:15-28:13). Source B, probably from a Jewish-Christian, is of less historical value and contains supernatural and miraculous elements, probably derived from popular tradition. It begins at Acts 1:3 and concludes with Acts 28:13. These two sources are independent of each other. The criticism of Julicher is valid in which he notes that Spitta includes all the reliable data in Source A and consigns to Source B everything which seems unhistorical and incredible.

¹ P. Feine, "Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas"

² F. Blass, "The Philology of the Gospels"

³ F. Burkitt, "The Gospel History and Its Transmission"

⁴ H. H. Wendt, "Apostelgeschichte", 8th ed.

⁵ F. Spitta, "Die Apostelgeschichte: ihre Quellen u. d. geschichtliche Wert"

Jüngst¹ also located two sources worked over by a redactor.

Source A, probably written by Luke, includes the "we"-journal and is of high historical worth. Source B, written by a Palestinian Jewish-Christian, is of less value. The redactor, writing in the time of Trajan, attempts to harmonize these sources into an apology for Christianity as a "religio licita" closely allied with Judaism. His facility in locating exactly the various strands of tradition, even dividing a verse into two or three parts, renders his method subtle and arbitrary.

Hilgenfeld² distinguishes three sources: -(1) Acts of Peter, of Jewish-Christian origin, from which are derived Acts 1:15-5:42; 9:31-42; 11:2; 12:1-23. (2) Acts of the Seven, written by a Hellenist who was a Christian, in Acts 6:1-8:40. (3) Acts of Paul, the work of an Antiochenean Christian, probably Luke, the author of the Third Gospel. In part an eye-witness, he has furnished data for Acts 7:31-8:1a, 3; 9:1-30; 11:27-29; 13-28, including the voyage diary. A Pauline unionist, who modified and united these sources, wanted to show that Gentile Christianity was a branch of the mother church at Jerusalem and that Paul was in concord with Peter and the apostles.

J. Weiss³ discerns two sources, one Jewish-Christian, the other Pauline, which can be distinguished only in general. He insists upon the inherent unity of the entire book of Acts. In his last work⁴ the same position is maintained. Source A, Hellenistic and probably Antiochenean, contains Acts 6:1-8:4; 11:19-30; 13-14, and was probably continued in the travel narratives which form the basis for the second half of Acts.

¹ Jüngst, "Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte"

² A. Hilgenfeld, "Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihren Quellenschriften untersucht"

³ J. Weiss, "Ueber die Absicht u. d. literarische Charakter der Apg."

⁴ "Das Urchristentum"

Source B, of Jewish-Christian origin, contained the Petrine and primitive Christian church data in Acts 1-5; 9:31-11:18 (perhaps 9:1-30), 12; and part of Acts 13. All this is too legendary for an early date and could not have come from a circle associated either with Peter, James, or John Mark. Perhaps it was written between 60 and 70 A.D. It is quite independent of Source A.

The method of Harnack¹ is to emphasize the importance of persons and places, since linguistic criticism is unable to produce desired results. He discovers the existence of the following sources:-

(1) For the "we"-journal Luke probably used his own notes. The remainder of Acts 13-28 is undoubtedly dependent upon oral tradition.

(2) No written source is necessary for Acts 1 and Recension B. For Source A, and especially for Acts 3, 4, and 12, Luke probably had written sources. This is less probable for 10:1-11:18. There is much uncertainty about Acts 7; 9:32-43. The Jerusalem-Antiochian (Ja) source represented by Acts 6:1-8:4; 11:19-30; 12:12-15:35 was largely written. Silas contributed the oral material.

Harnack's investigations of the Third Gospel and Acts from the standpoint of date and authorship produced a weighty influence for re-establishing the traditional view that Acts was written by Luke, the companion of Paul, while in Rome during the apostle's imprisonment. Harnack's second work² is given to the uncovering of evidence to show that Luke, the beloved physician, wrote both the Gospel and Acts, proceeding from the "we"-sections. His last study in the series³ is significant for assigning an early date for Acts, it being written during Paul's

¹ A. von Harnack, "The Acts of the Apostles" 1

² " " "Luke, The Physician"

³ " " "The Date of Acts and the Synoptic Gospels"

Roman imprisonment. If this be true, it establishes an early date for the Third Gospel, perhaps in the early 50's. This would push Mark's gospel back into the 50's. Harnack and C.C. Torrey are about the only influential scholars who assign such an early date to Acts. Harnack's original investigations and conclusions attracted widespread attention and occasioned the usual reactions. Many rallied to his support; influential New Testament scholars took issue with him. (Harnack has done as much as any one man to stimulate further investigation in our century).

A recurrent theory has been defended anew by L. Dier,¹ who argues that Acts 1-15 embraces a common Greek source written by John Mark, the cousin of Barnabas and the author of the second gospel. In the light of the present investigation, this hypothesis will bear further study.

Loisy² simplifies the source problem of Acts by distinguishing a primitive Lucan source and a re-casting of this first redaction by a Roman interpolator who, by his transitions, doublets, inventions, and interpolations in discourse material, had destroyed the natural order of the careful composition of Luke, who had written with true historical purpose.

Goguel³ has a complicated theory of sources for Acts 1-15, despite his protest that he cannot pretend to reconstruct these sources. His effort proceeds from the use of doublets, contradictions, and sutures presented in Acts.

One of the important recent works, ambitious in its intention to be exhaustive, and fruitful in scholarship, is that of Jackson-Lake.⁴ Acts 1-2 continues the Jerusalem tradition of Lk. 24, gathering about

¹ L. Dier, "Marc, source des Actes?", *Revue biblique*, 1920, pp. 555-568 and 1921, pp. 82-86

² A. Loisy, "Les Actes des Apôtres"

³ M. Goguel, "Le Livre des Actes"

⁴ Foakes-Jackson--K. Lake, "The Beginnings of Christianity"

Peter on his return to Jerusalem and coming from a circle of Jewish Christians who have entirely ignored or forgotten the Galilean tradition. There is a strong inclination to identify John Mark with the author of this. While three distinct Jerusalem traditions are discerned, all probably written in Aramaic; - a Caesarean source featuring Philip, a Pauline tradition in Acts 9:1-30, and an Antiochenean tradition - one of the suggestive features of this criticism of Acts 1-15 is a reconstruction in the chronological order of events as follows:-¹

1. Acts 9:31
2. Acts (12:18-23) 12:1-17 Death of Herod and Peter's departure from Jerusalem
3. Acts 9:32-10:48 Peter's Journey through Palestine to Caesarea
4. Acts 11:19-30 The Famine in Palestine
5. Acts 11:1-18 } Peter's return to Jerusalem.
15:1-18:5 } - from Antiochenean viewpoint in 11:1-18 (Gal. 2:1-19)
 } - from Jerusalem viewpoint in 15:1-18:5

The editors hold that a linguistic examination of Acts tends to prove that all the parts have been written by the same author, Luke, with the apologetic and didactic purposes in mind to write not only a history but especially for the religious edification of the readers.

The most recent commentary on Acts by E. Jacquier² regards Luke as the author of Acts. He used written sources for discourse material only. Jacquier finds ample personal associations and connections for Luke which could provide oral tradition for all the narrative, even in chapters 1-15. Luke, a versatile litterateur, was able to transmit his oral data and still preserve the Hebrew coloring.

A synoptic view of the important works on Acts cannot ignore certain valuable contributions made by English scholars along other lines of research than Luke's purpose and sources. We have already mentioned

¹ Foakes-Jackson--K. Lake, "The Beginnings of Christianity" Part I, Vol. II, p. 157

² E. Jacquier, "Les Actes des Apôtres"

Dr. Lightfoot's monumental work in the linguistic field (p. 21).

The work of Sir William Ramsay which appeared in 1890¹ was recognized immediately as important. His investigations in Asia Minor turned him to the study of Acts and the letters of Paul and subsequent publications which possessed a double significance.² They strengthened the credentials of Luke as a historian and propounded with able defense the famous "South-Galatian theory" (as against the "North-Galatian theory" supported chiefly by Dr. Lightfoot), whereby Ramsay argued that the four Pauline missionary churches of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia, were located in the Roman province of Galatia rather than "Galatia" in the ethnic, geographical sense.

Sir John Hawkins³ has tabulated valuable linguistic data which establish a valid basis for demonstrating that the author of the "we"-sections of Acts is the author of the entire book. This position has been accepted by Harnack and most recently by Cadbury, as we have noted (p. 17). In 1882 Dr. Hobart of Dublin⁴ published the results of his investigation of the medical terms in the Lucan writings to show that "Luke, the beloved physician" was the author, as the traditional theory maintained. This view has been recently controverted by Cadbury⁵ and G. F. Moore⁶. In 1907 Wellhausen had indicated that if Luke is to be discovered in the "we"-passages of Acts 27, he must have been a sailor rather than a physician by profession as that is the story of a nautical man and mariner.⁷

On the text of Acts, one of the outstanding contributions of recent

¹ W. M. Ramsay, "Historical Geography of Asia Minor"

² " " " "The Church in the Roman Empire", "St. Paul, the Traveler and Roman Citizen", "Pauline and Other Studies", etc.

³ J. C. Hawkins, "Horae Synopticae"

⁴ Hobart, "The Medical Language of St. Luke"

⁵ H. J. Cadbury, "The Style and Literary Method of Luke"

⁶ G. F. Moore, (Prefatory note to "The Style and Literary Method of Luke" p. 51)

⁷ J. Wellhausen, "Nachrichten v. d. Kön. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen" 1907, p. 21

years has been produced by J.H.Ropes¹, in whose volume the texts of MSS B and D are arranged on opposite pages together with every important variant. A small work intended for popular use is that of J.M.Wilson.² Here the complete text of Codex Bezae is printed in English, with additions in heavy type and omissions in parentheses, as this text compares with Codex Vaticanus. This makes clear at a glance the differences, some of them very significant and others relatively so.

Speaking of the Western text recalls the striking theory of Blass³ that Luke has given us two originals in Acts; the first a rough first-draft (Romana) preserved in our present MSS D and constituting the Western text, and the second a polished, smooth copy (Antiochena) for the use of Theophilus, which became the basis for Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, A, C, and the eastern texts.

"The merit of his work in showing how widespread and interesting was the Western form of text is acknowledged even by those who do not accept his conclusions".⁴

T.Zann is one of those who support the theory of Blass, although this hypothesis is not generally accepted. The importance of this Western text and its antiquity are recognized, (Dr.Ropes believes it to have been in existence by 150 A.D.). However, the old B text won the day in the second century and is the supreme text for Acts as for the gospels.

We now consider a few of the important investigations of the sources for the Third Gospel and their treatment by Luke.

¹ J.H.Ropes, "The Text of Acts", Vol.III in "The Beginnings of Christianity"

² J.M.Wilson, "The Acts of the Apostles from Codex Bezae"

³ F.Blass, "Philology of the Gospels"
" " "Acta Apostolorum"

⁴ R.Knowling, "Acts", Expositor's Greek Testament, Vol.II, p.43

The "two-source" theory (that Luke used Mk. in some form for his narrative material and an unknown Q source for the main body of his discourse material) is now so universally accepted that it will not be necessary to review the history which established this position. We make it our point of departure in considering the source-problem. The features of Luke's gospel which suggest the use of other source material have been described aptly by Moffatt¹:-

"Besides Mk. and Q, the sources used by Lk. (1:1-4) in composing his gospel, so far as they were written, may have provided him with material for 1:5-2:51, 9:18-18:14 and some passages elsewhere, especially in the passion-narrative...but he has worked them over so thoroughly it is rarely possible to distinguish their number or even their nature."

It is the style of Lk. 1 and 2 which raises the source problem, and individual research has usually supported one of three hypotheses:- (a) the use of a Palestinian, Jewish-Christian, Greek or Aramaic source which Luke has freely revised and incorporated;² (b) the free composition of the section by Luke, who deliberately and skillfully adopted the Aramaic style;³ (c) a later insertion.⁴ This section viewed as Luke's translation Greek and embodying ~~some~~^{some} primitive document makes it possible to link 1:5-1:52 with 3:23-28 as parts of a single Palestinian source which Luke has consciously worked over.⁵

It is the section 9:51-18:34 (The Great Interpolation), containing a large block of material found neither in Mk., Q, nor Mt., which has occasioned theories of special sources for the gospel. It has been thought to be (a) a Perea source;⁶ (b) some independent source⁷; (c) a Lucan insertion

¹ Moffatt, "Introduction to the New Testament", p. 266

² Bruce, Zimmermann, Plummer, A. Wright

³ Pfleiderer, Harnack

⁴ Hilgenfeld

⁵ Briggs, Wellhausen, Spitta, Wright, Jülicher

⁶ M. D. Burton, Briggs

⁷ Ewald, Renan

from Q (similarly in Lk. 6:20-8:3, "The Lesser Interpolation")¹; (1) a collection of sayings and stories partly drawn from special traditions of the Judean ministry of Jesus, partly from Q, and partly from Mark.²

Starting from Lk. 9:51-18:14, and being reenforced by the findings of Sir John Hawkins³, that Luke deserts Mark in Lk. 6:20-8:3; 9:51-18:14; 19:1-27, B.H. Streeter⁴ offers a variation of the two-source theory by his Proto-Luke hypothesis, according to which Luke used not only Mark, which he regarded highly, but a much larger document. This was composed of material taken from Q and L (the peculiar Lucan material) and was considered by Luke as of primary authority. Probably Luke himself united Q and L originally and then at a later date produced an enlarged edition of his former work by incorporating large extracts from Mark and prefixing the infancy narratives (our present Gospel L. This theory harks back to F. Weiss⁵, who in 1907 noted a third large source (L) beginning with the birth stories and concluding with the death and resurrection. L was valued as equal in importance to Mark and Q and affected Luke's presentation of both these sources, it being by no means confined to the sections peculiar to the Third Gospel. J.V. Taylor⁶ has carried forward Streeter's theory and his detailed treatment would show that Proto-Luke contained both narrative and discourse material. Most recently this theory has been accepted and used as the basis of the first English commentary on the Third Gospel in thirty years.⁷

¹ Wendt

² Wright, Moffatt

³ J.C. Hawkins, "Three Limitations on St. Luke's Use of Mark's Gospel" in Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem

⁴ B.H. Streeter, "The Four Gospels"

⁵ F. Weiss, "Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung"

⁶ J.V. Taylor, "Behind the Third Gospel"

⁷ B.S. Easton, "Commentary on St. Luke"

With regard to other theories of a special source embodied in the Third Gospel, other than material taken from Mark or Q, we may mention that of Feine¹, whose Jewish-Christian source emanates from Jerusalem and contains the birth stories, genealogy, the rejection from Nazareth, much material between chapters 9 and 21, and the passion, death, and resurrection accounts. J. Weiss² analyzes the gospel into three sources; - Q, M, and S (Luke's special source). However, his exceedingly fine discrimination in classifying the verses which belong to each source is arbitrary. E.D. Burton³ denies any use of Q or of the discourse material contained in Matthew, finding the Lucan source in (a) 1:5-2:52; (b) a Perean document (Lk. 9:51-18:14, 19:1-28); (c) a Galilean document (Lk. 3:7-19, 17, 18; 4:21-13, 16-39; 5:1-11; 6:20-49; 7:1-8:3; (d) Mark and (e) some minor sources or traditions.

The Passion narrative differs so notably from Mark as to suggest the use of another source. Burkitt⁴ thinks it probable that Luke is presenting some highly valuable historical data derived from some other source than Mark and not contained in Q. The Proto-Luke theory of Streeter will largely include the passion-narrative. A.W. Perry⁵ presents a critical, analytical study, mostly based on linguistic grounds, which leads to rather original conclusions. Underlying the passion-narrative in Luke's gospel is a source which is a Greek-translation from the Aramaic, originating about 45 A.D. in the Christian community at Jerusalem. Its author was probably a disciple of Jesus and an eye-witness of the

¹ P. Feine, "Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung, u.s.w."

² J. Weiss, "Commentary on Luke".

³ E.D. Burton, "Commentary on Luke".

⁴ F. Burkitt, "The Gospel History and Its Transmission"

⁵ A.W. Perry, "The Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative"

events described. This source furnishes valuable independent evidence for the reconstruction of the details of that event. In thinking of the possible relationship between the last part of the Third Gospel and the beginning of Acts, it is interesting to note Peter's primacy throughout this passion narrative as Perry locates it. In this matter T.D. Wooley¹ has a brief work which indicates particularly that the account of the Ascension in Acts 1 is an expansion of the same tradition expressed in succinct, summary form in Lk. 24. The account of Acts is not regarded as a later tradition which came to Luke's notice and gained his preference after he had registered the account in the last chapter of his Gospel.

Of course, various reliable commentaries and introductions give valuable suggestions and supplementary contributions, but such detailed reference would go quite beyond the scope of this survey.

A brief, concluding paragraph will indicate the general trend of thought on the part of New Testament investigators at the present time with reference to some of the critical problems attached to the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts.

(1) It is generally recognized that there are important, underlying sources beneath our present Third Gospel and the Book of Acts and that both works are compilations based upon the use of these sources. In view of the structural unity of "Luke-Acts", it is probable that the clear reference to such sources contained in the preface to the Gospel, (Lk. 1:1-4) applies to the composition of the Book of Acts and suggests similar usage there.

(2) As we have mentioned, H.J. Cadbury, supplementing the previous notable contributions of Sir John Hawkins and A. Harnack, seems to have

¹ T.D. Wooley, "The End of Luke's Gospel and the Beginning of Acts:-
Two Studies"

established securely the identity of authorship for the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts. But whereas the last two support ably the widely accepted traditional position that this author was Luke, the companion of Paul, Dr. Cadbury joins a small group of influential scholars who, while unable to name another as the author, are not willing to subscribe to the Lucan authorship.

(3) There is practically universal agreement today among New Testament scholars upon the so-called "two source theory" in one form or another for the Third Gospel. Upon this theory, Luke used either our present Mark or some written version of this gospel as the underlying source for his narrative material and an unknown, written "Q" source for the main body of his discourse material. A very recent modification of this two-source theory is plausibly presented and ably defended by certain English scholars, led by B.H. Streeter, in the form of a "Proto-Luke" hypothesis. According to this, Luke used not only Mark, which he valued highly, but another extant gospel, "Proto-Luke", made up of material contained in Q and L (L contains the peculiar Lucan data) and regarded Luke as of primary authority. This hypothesis is now in vogue and has been accepted most recently by B.S. Easton in his "Commentary on St. Luke".

(4) With regard to the Book of Acts, we may consider the problems of purpose and sources. The traditional position is that Luke in writing Acts aims to describe the historical expansion of Christianity beneath the divine guidance, as expressed in Acts 1:8. This view weathered the storm of controversy occasioned by the Tübingen, "Tendenz" theory; more recently has received marked confirmation through the investigations of such scholars as Harnack and Ramsay; and represents the dominant position

of New Testament scholarship today. However, this view continues to be challenged by those investigators who see a political, apologetic motive behind the writing of Acts. This motive is variously denoted as a defense of Christianity against the Jews; a defense of Christianity before the Roman authorities with the purpose of establishing it as a "religio licita"; or, as a legal brief prepared especially for the personal defense of Paul, the prisoner before the bar of Roman justice.

(5) The sources of Acts still constitute a complicated problem. There is general agreement as to a three-fold distinction of sources: -

(a) some source underlying the "we" sections, the incidents of which were witnessed by the author himself or the compiler of the entire work.

(b) an oral source or sources for the remainder of Acts 16-28 (or Acts 13-28).

(c) sources, oral or written, or both, underlying Acts 1-15 (or Acts 1-12).

There is no general agreement either as to the limitations or the detailed character of these sources underlying the first half of Acts. Some form of a two-source theory commands a large following of investigators of this problem. By general agreement there is a body of material which is recognized as embodying primary traditions and possessing relatively high historical value. There is another body of data which is generally recognized as of less historical worth and which contains deeply colored narrative which probably reflects popular tradition. Attempts to demonstrate precisely the limits and the character of these sources have thus far proved unconvincing.

(5) There is a widespread inclination to accept without question the assumption of scholars like Harnack that the references to "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel and Acts are editorial insertions on the part of the author and do not constitute an integral part of the source material used by him.

I

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF "THE HOLY SPIRIT" TRADITION

1. BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONCEPTION

The New Testament conception and use of "the Spirit" (as referring to the divine spirit of God) and especially Luke's predominant usage of "the Holy Spirit" in his Gospel and Acts, are rooted deeply in ancient Hebrew thought expressing itself in the Old Testament literature. At the outset it is to be noted that "the Holy Spirit" of the New Testament is to be identified with the "Spirit of God" in the Old Testament and in both testaments the terms refer to the method and manner of divine presence and operation in the lives of persons.

The purpose of this survey is to indicate clearly that the phrase as found in our New Testament and particularly the Lucan writings, can be derived from no other sources than the Old Testament. Such a historical résumé will serve as a testing-background for the Lucan use and idea-content of "the Holy Spirit" and will reveal in his usage the existence of a well-defined and uniquely primitive, Jewish-Christian tradition, pre-Pauline and pre-Johannine, which will later be shown to have been extended in the sources used by Luke, especially for Acts. This tradition has been faithfully transmitted by Luke in such a way as to throw some light upon the character of such source material at his disposal.

(1) "The Spirit" (ruach) in the Old Testament

It is still a debatable question whether the original use of "ruach" was applied to "breath" or "wind". Some authorities regard "breath" as the

fundamental conception rather than the invisible "wind":-

"It seems doubtful whether the living breath is not more close to the basal idea than the invisible, immaterial wind. Early religious ideas more often start with a conception of a living power than with a lifeless force."

But if the order of development of meaning corresponds to the order of appearance in extant Old Testament literature, the thought of "ruach" advanced from the idea of "wind" to the conception "spirit" before it connoted "breath", and its reference and application to God preceded that to man, according to E.D. Burton. In either event the important fact is that in early Hebrew thought "ruach" is primarily and predominantly a religious term signifying the "spirit of God". In a three-fold manner "the Spirit" is referred to God:-²

(1) The "Spirit of God" is active in ways analogous to those in which the wind might operate but this divine activity is nearly always directed to human life and not to the natural world.

(2) "Spirit of God" is power, dynamic and vital, opposed to all material and fleshly existence. As such, God's spirit produces various psychological and physical-psychical states, ranging from physical strength and courage to prophetic frenzy and profound, sober message.

(3) "Spirit of God" possesses ethical content and is active in the life of the community of the chosen people and of individuals to guide, instruct, redeem, and effect moral renewal. In this respect it is striking that "the holy spirit" occurs but three times in the entire Old Testament. (Psa. 51:11; Isa. 63:10, 11). By such usage it is plain that the idea is involved in the moral character of God himself, the Spirit being as ethical as God.

As we shall consider later this preponderant usage of "the spirit"

as "the Spirit of God" in operation, at this point we shall dispose

¹ I. F. Wood, "The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature", p. 32

² E. D. Burton, "Spirit, Soul, and Flesh", pp. 53-62

of those references in the Old Testament which connote "wind" and "breath" for "ruach". Such references indicating "wind" are of scant occurrence throughout all periods of the Hebrew literature embodied in the Old Testament.

Psa.1:4 "the wicked are not so but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away"

II Sam.22:11 "He was seen upon the wings of the wind"

II Kings 3:17 "For thus saith Jahweh, Ye shall not see wind"

Also, Hos.4:19, Isa.7:2; 41:16; 64:5; Jer.2:24; 10:13; Ez.3:2, 10; Zech.5:9; Psa.18:11, 43; 103:16; Job 8:2.

In Hos.13:15 "An east wind shall come, the wind of the Lord coming up from the wilderness", it is spoken of as proceeding from God but not in such a way as to alter the meaning of the word. Note I Ki.19:11 "and behold, the Lord passed by and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord." Here the destructive power of the wind is in mind.

Isa.41:29 "Behold, all of them, their works are vanity and nought; their molten images are wind and confusion." Here "wind" is the symbol of nothingness, emptiness.

The first reference to the use of "spirit" as "breath", the symbol of life, and the cessation of which is death, is in the exilic period.

Ez.37:9-14 is very important to suggest the close relationship between the old meanings "wind" and "spirit", and the meaning "breath". We quote Ez.37:9, 10:-

"Then said he unto me, Prophecy unto the wind, prophecy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord Jahweh: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet".... 37:14 "And I will put my spirit in you, and ye shall live."

Also, Gen.6:17; 7:15, 22; Psa.104:29; 135:17; Jer.10:14; 51:17; Mat.2:19.

Isa.11:4 "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked".

The "breath" is the breath of life, and the symbol of power, and here it possesses Messianic significance. Usually it refers to God. (Ex.15:8; II Sam.22:16; Job 4:9; Psa.18:5; Isa.30:28)

"The Spirit" frequently refers to the spirit of man, as the seat of the emotions and of physical powers:-

Judg.8:3; Job 7:11; Num.16:22; Zech.12:1; Prov.18:14.

Isa.57:15 connotes moral and religious capacities.

Very rarely in the late writings as the seat of mentality, Job 20:3; I Chron.28:12.

However, far more often the term "soul" (nephesn) is used to refer to the spirit of man as the seat of all human and personal powers, and even life itself. "Nephesn" is rarely applied to God. It is interesting to observe that from the earliest period of Old Testament literature, this is a term reserved for the life within a person, that which makes him a living being as distinguished from inanimate life. It is a psychological, vital term. While "ruach" is a religious term referring almost exclusively to the activities of God in and upon human life, "nephesn" refers to God only rarely and then as the source of life. "Nephesn" is predominantly the term reserved for man.

The religious interpretation of history is the unique contribution of the Old Testament literature. In every period God is present and active through the dynamic power of his spirit to lead, instruct, and inspire his people Israel through her leaders. Of special importance is the conception of the spirit of God as the causal agent for the inspiration of the prophets as God's spokesmen to his people and the revealers of his will by means of the prophetic message. At a later date the spirit of God is intimately bound up with the Messianic hopes of Israel, as we shall have occasion to observe. It is this association of the spirit of God with prophecy and the Messianic hopes centering in the person of the Messiah which is of high significance for the development of the primitive Christian tradition of "the Holy Spirit" embodied by Luke in his writings.

Let us now survey the Old Testament literature for those references which relate to the spirit of God as dynamic, vital power which comes upon and works in and through God's chosen leaders for the realization of his purposes for the nation Israel. They appear in the earliest stratum of the historical narrative in the Old Testament.



i. "The Spirit" As Divine, Dynamic Power

In the heroic age of the Judges the spirit of God was the agent responsible for the extraordinary powers of physical strength and unusual capacities for leadership and military conquest attending these national heroes. "The spirit" is the author of divine power which comes upon men for the performance of special duties. God raised up Othniel as a national saviour in a time of crisis:—"And the spirit of Jahweh came upon him and he judged Israel." (Judg. 3:10). Likewise, the "spirit of Jahweh" came upon (clothed itself with) Gideon (Judg. 6:34) and equipped Jephtah with power for leadership and victory (Judg. 11:29). Samson, the "child of promise" is blessed of Jahweh (Judg. 13:25). When the spirit of God empowered him, he was able to rend in pieces a young lion (Judg. 14:6); to smite thirty men of Ashkelon (Judg. 14:19); to burst his bonds and slay a thousand Philistines (Judg. 15:14, 15). The gift is plainly superhuman and permits no possible confusion between it and the ordinary powers of such men. The divine power is a special gift for special occasions, usually some grave political crises for Israel, and in no sense nor instance is regarded as a permanent possession.

As divine, dynamic power given upon special occasions "the spirit" occurs in the early "J" material, to be dated about 850 B.C. When Palaam, a seer, lifted up his eyes and saw Israel dwelling according to their tribes, "the spirit of Jahweh came upon him" and he prophesied (Num. 24:2f). This experience was apparently accompanied by ecstasy (24:16) as this reference gives a picture of accompanying audition, vision, and bodily prostration. That the seer is the immediate ancestor of the prophet is clear from Isa. 9:9:-

"Beforetime in Israel when a man went to inquire of God, thus he said, Come, and let us go to the seer; for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer".

Close to these national leaders and heroes stood the seers as men of God - the media of communication between God and men by means of "the spirit of God".

It is clear that the powers of divination are closely related to the office of the seer at first but these vestigia are sluffed off as the unique conceptions and experiences of Hebrew prophecy develop. Saul seeks Samuel, the seer, to inquire in which direction to go in order to locate the lost asses. (I Sam. 9:6). The oracle of God was learned through the medium of the man of God, the seer, who, possessed with the spirit of God, was able to communicate the divine message. Both Samuel, the seer (I Sam 9:19) and Deborah "a prophetess" who judged Israel (Judg. 4:4) are leaders in the affairs of politics. This political influence and authority of the seer, Samuel, are well indicated by his anointing Saul and superintendence over the popular election of Saul as king of the theocracy, Israel, (ISam. 10). Saul is a spirit-filled leader, empowered for his office by the spirit of God. It is interesting to note the existence and appearance of wandering bands of spirit-filled prophets in this period. After the anointing, it is Samuel, the seer, who prophesies that Saul "shall meet a band of prophets coming down from the high place", prophesying to the accompaniment of music, and that "the spirit of Jahweh shall come mightily upon" Saul, who will prophesy along with them and "shall be turned into another man" (ISam. 10:5, 6). And this is so (10:10). Evidently these wandering prophets, "nebilim", constituted a guild of prophets who, when "seized" by the spirit of Jahweh, are responsive to his will and communicate his message. This experience of "seizure" by the divine spirit is manifested by ecstatic expressions, with enthusiasm, religious frenzy, and abnormal conduct, --all of which give visible evidence to the superhuman power which plays upon them as instru-

ments. In company with one of these wandering bands, Saul is endowed with the presence of the divine spirit and power. The spirit does not reside permanently within him, for in ISam 11:6 there occurs another endowment of extraordinary power which equips him to lead to victory the army of Israel. In ISam.16:14a we read, "the spirit of Jahweh departed from Saul and an evil spirit from Jahweh troubled him"¹. Also in Judges 9:23 "God sent a spirit of evil between Abimelech and the men of Shechem". It is quite unlikely that the influence of an entirely developed ethical conception of God is reflected herein. In fact, some of these earliest references seem devoid of ethical content. However, it is probably close to the truth to say,

"If the idea of a demonic spirit, neither human or divine, arose in Hebrew thought in the Old Testament period, the idea of the supremacy of God undoubtedly prevailed to such an extent that even the source of evil itself could be ascribed as a spirit of God."²

We note that on another occasion when Saul sent his messengers to take David, they find him in the "company of the prophets prophesying and Samuel standing as head over them", and "the spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul and they also prophesied." (ISam.19:20). After the same experience has befallen two additional groups of messengers, whom Saul had sent forth, he himself comes and "the spirit of God came upon him also and he went on and prophesied" (ISam.19:23). Saul "stripped off his clothes" and "prophesied before Samuel and fell down naked all that day and that night", which gave occasion for the question, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (19:24). Here is a clear indication of an abnormal, ecstatic experience of seizure or possession by the "spirit of God" in the person of the prophet. It is interesting to note the constant expression used to describe this experience of spirit-possession and its

¹ cf. (ISam.16:15,16,23a,b;18:10;19:9)

² E.D.Burton, "Spirit, Soul, and Flesh" pp56-7.

outcome in prophecy. "The Spirit of Jahweh came upon" or "came mightily upon" individual prophets or groups of prophets and they prophesied. In IISam.23:2, among what are reputed to be the last words of David, he exclaimed, "The Spirit of Jahweh spake by (in) me, and his word was upon my tongue." The prophetic experience was his likewise. God's spirit and message found expression and utterance through him.

It is informing to observe that Elijah and Elisha, who stand as intermediary between the traveling, ecstatic bands of prophets and the literary prophets, prophesied as individuals. Had the professional guild of prophets disbanded by this time or are they "the sons of the prophets" who appear during the time of Elisha? (IKi.20:35; IIKi.2:13). In the picturesque account of Elijah's victory over the four hundred prophets of Baal, he stands stalwartly alone as the champion and prophet of Jahweh. The "spirit of Jahweh" does not come mightily upon Elijah or Elisha in their prophetic offices. It is "the word of Jahweh" which comes directly to Elijah to inspire his prophetic utterances. When his dramatic disappearance is described, he is "taken up by a whirlwind into heaven", and when the "sons of the prophets" see the power of Elisha they recognize that the prophetic mantle of Elijah has fallen upon him; they do obeisance to him and declare, not that the spirit of Jahweh has come upon him but "the spirit of Elijah doth rest upon Elisha", and they pray that they might search for Elijah "lest the spirit of Jahweh hath taken him up, and cast him upon some mountain or into some valley". (IIKi.2:11-16).

A stratum of Old Testament source material nearly contemporary with Amos, (entwined in the "E", Elonim, document, dated about 750 B.C.), gives us further light upon the relationship existing between the spirit of God active in and motivating those whom God has called to be his leaders.

The wisdom of Joseph, at least in the eyes of Pharaoh, is due to his possession of the spirit of God (Gen. 41: 38). Concerning the seventy elders of Israel, God informs Moses, "I will come down and talk with thee and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee and will put it upon them," (Num. 11: 17). It would seem here that as God is conceived in anthropological terms, his spirit and its power are almost substantial - a something which can be distributed, put on, and taken away from. Jahweh "came down in a cloud and spake to Moses and took of the Spirit that was upon him and put it upon the seventy elders, and it came to pass, that when the Spirit rested upon them, they prophesied" (11: 25). When it was reported that "the Spirit rested upon Eldad and Medad, who were prophesying in the camp of the Israelites", Moses expressed the wish, "Would that all God's people were prophets, that Jahweh would put his Spirit upon them" (11: 26-29). Here, God not only took his Spirit which rested upon Moses and distributed it among the seventy elders but God's Spirit rests upon two non-officials in the camp, who qualify as prophets and prophecy. The title "prophet" is given Abramam, whose prayer will be efficacious in saving the life of Abimelech. (Gen. 20: 4)

With the moralization of the concept of God, the dawn of the era of the literary prophet, and the development of the prophetic office, the phenomena of religious fervor, frenzy, ecstasy, and violent enthusiasm tend to disappear and the prophet becomes more natural and less abnormal in the expression of his awareness that the spirit of God is upon him. The call to the prophetic office for Amos is such as to distinguish him from any association with "the sons of the prophets". When Amaziah addresses him as a seer (Amos 7: 12), Amos takes pains to disclaim any relationship

with the order of professional prophets. "I am no prophet neither am I one of the sons of the prophets"(7:14). His direct call to the prophetic office is not described as coexistence with the coming of the Spirit of Jahweh upon him, but his seizure and separation for the prophetic mission are just as real. "Jahweh took me from following the flock and Jahweh said unto me, Go prophesy unto my people Israel.(7:15).. "The Lord Jahweh hath spoken, who can but prophesy?"(3:8).

It seems singular that the writings of the pre-exilic and exilic prophets have little or nothing to say about "the Spirit of God" in connection with their own prophetic call and experience and the inspiration for their message. It is valid to inquire whether the pre-exilic literary prophets felt themselves to be men of "the Spirit". It is evident that their successors, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, were conscious of the activity of the Spirit of God in their own prophetic ministry, as we shall see. But what about Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah? It is difficult to see clearly what these prophets thought concerning the divine spirit in connection with their own prophetic call and message, which they were sure came from God, and which were irresistible. We have already spoken of Amos. Hosea exclaims, "the prophet is a fool, the man that hath the Spirit is mad" but he is clearly appropriating a word of scorn and derision cast at him by his people in order to give ironical expression to the fact that what he had to say as a prophet and man of the Spirit was not folly but true wisdom. It is the spirit of God which causes these men to be just what they are: - prophets, spokesmen for God, through whom Jahweh speaks to his people and will deal with his people. The same Isaiah who can protest against an Egyptian alliance with the warning, "The Egyptians are men and not God; and their horses flesh and not spirit"(31:3), can affirm that it is the spirit of God which invests him with ability to speak the word of Jahweh,

since the spirit of God and the mouth of God stand in parallel relationship.

"Woe to the rebellious children,saith Jahweh,that take counsel but not of me;and that make a league,but not of my Spirit, that they may add sin to sin;that set out to go down into Egypt and have not asked of my mouth."(Isa.30:1,2)

Micah gives expression to the same thought:-

"Shall it be said O house of Jacob,Is the Spirit of Jahweh straitened? Are these his doings? Do not my words do good to him that worketh uprightly?" (Mic.2:7)

It would seem that the seers are in ill repute in the days of Micah and are classed with the diviners (Mic.3:7). In sharp distinction from them stands the prophet Micah,certain of his prophetic call and office and truly a man of the Spirit.

"As for me I am full of power by the Spirit of Jahweh,and of judgment,and of might,to declare unto Jacob his transgression and to Israhel her sin" (Mic.3:8).

Judging from the fact that Amos,Hosea,and Micah felt obliged to distinguish themselves from the class of the professional prophet,it may well be that the seers and "sons of the prophets",as a group of religious men,had degenerated from the high office they once occupied and through an exaggerated emphasis upon the extreme manifestations of their religious experience and the offices of divination had brought the "Spirit of God",which was closely associated with the prophetic call and office,into temporary disrepute. In a group of prophetic individuals such as the eighth century literary prophets,who could advance to such amazing lengths the moralization and spiritualization of the idea of God,it is not difficult to see how Amos,Hosea,Micah,and Isaiah could also elevate the conception of the prophet of Jahweh and raise the standards of the prophetic office. The causal agent could still be the active Spirit of God but purged of all that which would do violence to the character of God. The credentials of the prophets were transformed from the stage of external demonstration and exhibition to the higher plane of inner qualification. The prophetic gift

would tend to be received in the highest measure only by those whose character and conduct fitted them to be worthy office-holders. The true prophets were thus distinguished from the false prophets, among whom would become classed the once reputable seers and "sons of the prophets". In fact, it is Ezekiel who, for one, did denounce heartily all false prophets and prophetesses. (Ez. 13: 1-7, 17), and restored the Spirit of God to its proper and former high place as the divine causative agent and power which equips the prophet for his divine office as God's spokesman to Israel.

In Ezekiel's stupendous effort to describe the indescribable vision of God which came to him; i.e., the nature of that religious experience which issued in his prophetic call and commission, he makes a central place for the Spirit of God in his picturesque description. (1:12, 19, 21). It is instructive to note the different ways in which Ezekiel expresses his consciousness of the operations of the Spirit of God as the guiding, inspiring, empowering agent in his own prophetic experience.

"The Spirit entered into me when he spake unto me and set me upon my feet." (Ez. 2: 2; 3: 24)

"The Spirit lifted me up and I heard behind me the voice of a great rushing" (3:12)

"So the Spirit lifted me up and took me away" (3:14)

"And he put forth the form of a hand and took me by a lock of my head; and the Spirit lifted me up between earth and heaven and brought me in the vision of God to Jerusalem" (8:3)

"The Spirit lifted me up and brought me unto the east gate of Jahweh's house" (11:1)

From Jerusalem, "The Spirit lifted me up, and brought me in the vision by the Spirit of God into Chaldea," (11:24)

Ezekiel speaks of the Spirit of God as active in a still different way:-

"and the Spirit of Jahweh fell upon me and he said unto me, Speak, Thus saith Jahweh" (11:5a)

"The hand of Jahweh was upon me and he brought me out in the Spirit of Jahweh and set me down in the midst of the valley" (37:1)

As previously indicated, Ezekiel 37:5-14 clearly illustrates the close connection existing between the three meanings of "ruach"--wind, spirit, and breath. With Ezekiel the Spirit of God is not an abiding presence but

occasional and of temporary duration. The prophet describes his religious experience as direct leading by the Spirit of God to the scenes of his prophetic ministry where he repeats the prophetic message so divinely imparted to him. We may say that Ezekiel is the only prophet who makes use of "ruach" in the four-fold sense of wind, breath, the Spirit of God as vital, life-giving power, and the Spirit of God as ethical and efficacious in the ethical purification of the community of Israel (Ez. 36:27).

In the Priestly Code (P) of Old Testament literature (c. 500 B.C.), the Spirit of God is dynamic, vital divine power which equips men with extraordinary ability and unusual powers. Jahweh informs Moses that he has called by name a certain Bezaliel, "And I have filled him with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding and in knowledge and in all manner of workmanship." (Ex. 31:3; 35:31). Here are conjoined special endowments and equipments not hitherto mentioned except by implication. Bezaliel is not a prophet but a master workman in charge of building operations in the erection of the tabernacle. On another occasion God commands Moses to "take thee Joshua, the son of Nun, a man in whom is the Spirit and lay thy hand on him," (Num. 27:18), as appointed leader of the congregation.

We note that the Spirit no longer merely comes upon a person, even mightily. With Micah and Ezekiel, both prophets of God, the Spirit of God is within them. Here we have two laymen, - Bezaliel, whom God has filled with his spirit, and Joshua, a man in whom is the Spirit.

The prophet, Trito-Isaiah, is both conscious of his humane mission and the divine equipment for his office which comes out of the experience that the Spirit of God rests upon him:-

"The Spirit of the Lord Jahweh is upon me; because Jahweh has anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek;" etc. (Isa. 61:1)

It is this passage which Jesus reads in the synagogue at Nazareth and applies to himself (Lk.4:18,19).

In the late Old Testament period we see no change in the form of expression used to indicate the presence of the Spirit of God as dynamic, endowing power in human life and thought for special situations and occasions. IChron.12:18 records, "The Spirit came upon (clothed) Amasai", who pledged the support of himself and thirty men to David and gave him the assurance that God was on his side to help him.

In IIChronicles we read,-

"The Spirit of God came upon Azariah"(15:1).

"Upon Zebadiah...came the Spirit of Jahweh in the midst of the assembly and he stood up to predict deliverance"(20:14).

"The Spirit of God came upon Zechariah" who "stood above the people and said unto them, Thus saith Jahweh"(24:20)

The Spirit of God is still connected with the power of prophecy and the investment with prophetic message. All signs of ecstasy and abnormality have disappeared :- at least in the narrative. The Spirit of God communicates the will of God to the prophet and gives him the power to deliver the divine message which is heard with respect.

By means of the following chart exhibit we see that in the earliest references to the operations of this dynamic, vital, power-equipping Spirit of God at work in and through men, the predominant usage is "the Spirit came upon (mightily)" individuals whom God had chosen for his leaders. They were endowed with extraordinary, even superhuman strength and powers, especially in the period of the Judges. Among the seers and tanks of prophets in Israel, the presence of God's Spirit begins to be related to prophecy. The Spirit of God forms a liaison between God and his nation, through the media of his spirit-empowered prophets, to whom the divine will is communicated and, in turn, through

whom it was communicated to the nation. Only three passages record groups of individuals as simultaneously under the power of the Spirit of God, which causes them to prophesy: - the band of prophets (ISam. 10:5); the messengers of Saul (ISam. 19:20); and the seventy elders (Num. 11:25). Elsewhere only individuals are affected. Although the Spirit usually "comes upon" a person from without, there are some instances where it is "within" a person (Gen. 41:38; Ex. 2:2; 3:24; Num. 27:18) or one is "filled" with the power of the Spirit (Mic. 3:8; Ex. 31:3; 35:31).

ii. "The Spirit of God" As Ethical

The ethical conception of the Spirit of God is a natural development coterminous with the increasingly ethical conception of God. This ethical connotation is attached to the Spirit of God as active both in the life of the community of elect Israel and in the lives of individuals, to guide, instruct, redeem, and to effect moral purification. This connotation does not arise until the period of literary prophecy.

The first clear reference is in Isa. 11:2, a significant reference because of its influence upon the primitive Christian view of "the Holy Spirit". Speaking of the righteous, earthly reign of the anticipated king of Israel, the prophet announces:-

"The Spirit of Jahweh shall rest upon him,
the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the
spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of
knowledge and of the fear of Jahweh."

We are to observe that upon this future, ideal king the Spirit of God will "rest" as an abiding possession. Not as heretofore will it be a sudden investiture of temporary duration, to be repeated as special occasions require. The Spirit of God is always to remain with him and he shall excel in wisdom. Three of the six predicates of the Spirit have to do with wisdom. However, we are reminded that the historically significant factor is that knowledge of God and the fear of God appear as the operation of the Spirit:-

"Mit bewusster Klarheit erfasst es Jesaja und, soviel wir wissen, zuerst Jesaja, dass Gotteserkenntnis und Gottesfurcht wesentliche Kennzeichen und Wirkungen des Geistes sind. So ist Jesaja von einschneidender Bedeutung in der Geschichte des Geistgedankens, soweit uns diese bekannt ist."

Since the time of Isaiah, the ethico-religious element has established

¹ D. F. Büchsel, "Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament", s. 19



itself firmly at the very center of the tradition concerning "the Spirit". This is not accidental with Isaiah but is grounded in his own personal, religious experience and consciousness of the reality and presence of God as the Spirit of Holiness. The piety of Isaiah is not simply love toward God or belief in God. He actually knows and fears God through the immediate experience of personal relationship. With this he has bound up his conception of the Spirit of God.¹ The point of departure is here. With Isaiah the fear of God and the knowledge of God are expressly identified with the results and recognized as the effects of possession of the Spirit of God just as power and wisdom were identifying marks in the past.

It is natural that in a period when the Messianic hopes were strong, this Isaianic picture of the righteous, earthly, Israelitic king should be interpreted in terms of the ideal king, God's Messiah, upon whom the Spirit of God in all its fulness should rest permanently, and who should communicate the divine Spirit to the community of the true Israel. And it is in the post-exilic period, after the extinction of Israel as a national political unit, that the hopes of the prophetic leaders are fixed upon the future deliverance and welfare of the true Israel. The ideal future centers not only about the Messianic age and the person of the Messiah but in the belief that the Spirit of God present and operative in a general sense in the community of the true Israel will achieve and secure this future welfare.²

It is one of the characteristic features of the use of the Spirit of God in the post-exilic writings that they refer to the communication and the presence of the Spirit of God not in individuals but in the

¹ of Böhmer, *ibid*, pp. 18-21 for a valuable elaboration of this fact.

² "The idea of the working of the Spirit as a part of the Messianic program is the main taproot from which springs the entire growth of the peculiar N.T. doctrine of the Spirit" (Wood: *ibid*, p. 119)

restored, redeemed, purified nation or ideal community of Israel. The thought of the Spirit of God with its ethico-religious connotation finds its first constant expression in Ezekiel, (cf. Jer. 31:33):-

"And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes and ye shall keep my ordinances and do them" (36:27)

This is in connection with the clearly expressed promise that a restored, renewed Israel will again dwell in the land of their fathers. In the light of this passage perhaps Ez. 37:14 gives expression to the same thought of ethical purification and restoration for Israel:-

"And I will put my Spirit in you and you shall live, and I will place you in your own land".

It is the nation Israel which is addressed and which will receive the beneficent power of the Spirit of God.

Deutero-Isaiah carries forward the idea of Israel's future mission and the central place therein of the Spirit of God in effecting the realization of the divine will in the first of the "Servant"-passages:-

"Behold, my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my Spirit upon him; he will bring forth justice to the Gentiles" (42:1)

Isa. 44:3 likewise extends the promise of spiritual refreshment for the community of God's chosen and elect people as an outpouring of the divine Spirit, an expression to be repeated in Joel and in the records of early Christianity:-

"For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty and streams upon the dry ground; I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring."

An individual expression of the prophet's own sense of divine mission and message is contained in Isa. 48:16:-

"And now the Lord Jahweh hath sent me, and his Spirit".

The message of Haggai contains an encouragement to the builders of

the temple in the time of restoration (520 B.C.) that God will be with his people as well as their political leader, Zerubbabel, and the religious leader, Joshua, and that his Spirit will abide with them, (Hag. 2:5). It is instructive to note that the prophet proclaims Zerubbabel as God's choice to be the ideal earthly king over the restored Israel, as prophesied in Isa. 11:1ff.

Zechariah, a contemporary of Haggai, designates Zerubbabel as God's chosen servant, "the branch (of, "shoot") and also sees in him the picture of Israel's ideal king of whom Isaiah had prophesied. Thus he admonishes Zerubbabel:-

"This is the ^ord of Jahweh unto Zerubbabel, saying,
Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith
Jahweh of hosts" (Zech. 4:6)

Only thus can the character of Israel's ideal king and God's appointee prove worthy and his powers of administration be adequate to meet the divine plans for the welfare of his chosen people. Zechariah further shows that Israel's disobedience to the divine will was the direct cause of her captivity, for we read in 7:12,-

"They made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest
they should hear the law, and the words which Jahweh
of hosts has sent by his Spirit by the former prophets".

It is in Psa. 51:11 that "the Holy Spirit" makes its first appearance in the Old Testament literature:-

"Cast me not away from thy presence
And take not thy Holy Spirit from me".

In this deeply devotional prayer, a contrite, individual worshipper of Man-wen clearly contrasts his own sinful and imperfect spirit with the Holy Spirit of God. The religious experience of this psalmist embraces the presence of the Spirit of God as a spirit of holiness which is efficacious for his moral renewal and purification.

Trito-Isaian, in painting the picture of Israel's glorious future, promises that the Spirit of Janwen will be an abiding possession of the community of the true, spiritual Israel. According to Deutero-Isaian Israel is destined to be the religious center in the future Messianic era. Trito-Isaian brings still closer this association of the Spirit of Janwen with the life of the new age. "A redeemer shall come to Zion" and this is God's covenant with his chosen people:-

"My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth..from henceforth and forever." (Isa. 59:21)

It is in Isaian 63:10, 11 that "the Holy Spirit" is again used in connection with reference to the rebellion and disobedience of the children of Israel in the early days of its history.

"But they rebelled and grieved his Holy Spirit... then he remembered the days of old, Moses and his people, saying, Where is he that brought up out of the sea the shepherd of his flock? Where is he that put his Holy Spirit in the midst of them?"

This gives expression to the constant belief of the religious interpretation of Israel's history, that the Spirit of God was especially present among the Israelites in their wanderings, providentially guiding, raising up, and equipping wise and strong leaders and prophets.

"The Spirit of Jahweh caused them to rest: so didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious name" (Isa. 63:14)

The operation of the Spirit in edifying God's chosen people makes the use of the phrase "the Holy Spirit" particularly appropriate in this verse, as the rebellion of the chosen people consisted in their violating the religious covenant, fidelity to which would constitute Israel's holiness. Not only is the use of "the Holy Spirit" rare in the O.T. but it is not associated with prophecy.

The leadership of the Spirit of God in Israel's past history was for didactic purposes as well as for edification, according to Num.9:20. God not only provided the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night to indicate the way in which they should go but he gave them his "good spirit to instruct them" as well as to satisfy their physical needs of hunger and thirst. Israel, disobedient and rebellious, sorely tried the divine patience. Then the divine Spirit of God called them to repentance through Israel's prophets but they would not give ear, (Num.9:30). The constant activity of the Spirit of God in behalf of Israel's national welfare, both for the past and future, the actual and ideal Israel, are to be noted as a constant factor in the religious literature of the post-exilic period and thereafter.

The religious hopes for the future Israel, especially as they involve the presence and operation of the Spirit of God, are given a sharp turn and new content of expectancy in the apocalyptic literature. The eschatological hopes are expressed in the prophecy of Joel (dated c.400 B.C.). The sudden intervention of God in the day of judgment, which is to be a day of terrible visitation for humanity attended by catastrophe, will bring destruction. In that day the nations of the earth will be judged, Judah will be delivered, and a period of untold prosperity and blessing for God's chosen people will be ushered in with Jerusalem, the "holy" city, as the religious center. Most important of all, the general outpouring of the Spirit of God is promised in that day. Such spiritual blessing will be the sign that the new era has begun:-

"And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit." (Joel 2:28,29)

We see immediately how the influence of this expectation was exerted upon the experience of the primitive Christians and how they interpreted this experience in the light of the fulfilment of this prophecy.

Somewhere between 300 and 250 B.C., the writer of Zech. 12, looking toward the glorious future of God's elect people, prophesies the coming might of Judah when Jerusalem should once more become the center of habitation in the day of God's universal reign. Moral purification will be effected and the inhabitants of Jerusalem will dwell within a truly "holy" city. But this is to be realized by the Spirit of God operating within the community life, as we see in Zech. 12:10:-

"I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication."

God's holy spirit will cleanse and purify Jerusalem and its inhabitants in that new, future day of God. It is the idea of the outpouring of the divine spirit with its ethically transforming results which is repeated here, a personal and group experience which will usher in the new era of Jehovah's universal reign. These hopes which have deep implications ethically have an important bearing upon the development of the Holy Spirit tradition as it comes to exist in primitive Christianity, and explains how life within the early Christian community and church came to be built securely upon the deepest moral bases. These last were taken for granted.

It remains to consider two passages from the Psalms which make use of the Spirit of God in its ethical sense. In Psa. 139:7, 4

"Where shall I go from thy Spirit? Or where shall I flee from thy presence?"

the Spirit is both an inner presence in the individual and is regarded as omnipresent. It is heart-searching and all-knowing. The prayer of the Psalmist is that God's Spirit, inwardly present, may effect moral purification.

tion which will make him worthy to be led in the way everlasting.

Another prayer of an individual worshipper is addressed to God in Psalm 143 and a reference to the Spirit is found in verse 10:-

"Teach me to do thy will;
For thou art my God;
Thy Spirit is good;
Lead me in the land of uprightness."

The ethical connotation is nowhere given more clearly. God's Spirit is good in contrast to the suppliant's own human spirit which he would have made good by the living spirit. The teaching of God and the leading of the Spirit are the same and the Spirit is the presence of the living. Only here and in Neh. 9:20 is the Spirit of God referred to as "good", just as it is called "holy" in the Old Testament only in Psa. 51:11 and Isa. 63:10, 11.

"THE SPIRIT OF GOD" AS ETHICAL

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|-------------|---|
| Isa. 11:2 | "And the Spirit of Jahweh shall rest on him" |
| Ez. 36:27 | "I will put my Spirit within you" |
| 37:14 | "I will put my Spirit in you and ye shall live" |
| 39:29 | "I have poured out my Spirit upon the house of Israel" |
| Isa. 42:1 | "I have put my Spirit upon him" |
| 44:3 | "I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed" |
| 48:16 | "The Lord Jahweh hath sent me and his Spirit" |
| Hag. 2:5 | "My Spirit abode among you" |
| Zech. 4:6 | "Not by might nor by power but by my Spirit" |
| 7:3 | "The words which Jahweh of hosts had sent by his Spirit by the former prophets" |
| Psa. 51:11 | "Take not thy Holy Spirit from me" |
| Isa. 59:21 | "My Spirit that is upon thee and my words" |
| 63:10 | "But they rebelled and grieved his Holy Spirit." |
| 63:11 | "Where is he that put his Holy Spirit in the midst" |
| 63:14 | "The Spirit of Jahweh caused them to rest" |
| Neh. 9:20 | "Thou gave thy good Spirit to instruct them" |
| 9:30 | "And testifiedst against them by thy Spirit" |
| Joel 2:28 | "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh" |
| 2:29 | "Upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit" |
| Zech. 12:10 | "I will pour upon the house of David and upon the inhabitant of Jerusalem the Spirit of grace and supplication" |
| Psa. 139:7 | "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?" |
| 143:10 | "Thy Spirit is good". |

It will be seen that the idea of the Spirit of God as active throughout the course of Israel's national history in all the past is charged with a new content of meaning, especially after the disappearance of the

nation as a political unit. The hopes long cherished for the welfare and ultimate supremacy of God's elect people are transferred to the future. The restored community, either actual or ideal Israel, will be composed of "holy" persons (connoting both ideas of separation and ethical renewal) who will be worthy of the "holy" character of God. The effective agent is still the Spirit of God but now operative not only in the lives of individuals but largely in the common life of the new community to guide, instruct, redeem and renew morally. The equipment of the future king will be that furnished by the Spirit of God which shall rest upon him completely and permanently. The Spirit of God will be poured out upon all the worthy people of the new Jerusalem in the future day of the Lord. It is the combination of these hopes involving the Spirit of God with the hopes connected with the future Messianic era, the person of the Messiah, and the renewed community life of the new Israel, which prepared the way in the Old Testament period for the primitive Jewish-Christian conceptions and tradition of "the Holy Spirit".

There is progress, then, in the development of the conception of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament thought and experience. The oldest sections, represented by J and E, regarded the Spirit of God as the source and sustainer of man's higher life and powers, particularly of the special endowments of supernatural strength, wisdom, and prophecy; but nowhere is it hypostatic and considered as a personal agent from the speculative viewpoint. It is a religious term used to relate religious experience and represents God as present and in action. Isaiah regards the Spirit as the anointer of Israel's ideal future king. In the exilic and post-exilic literature the ethical character of the Spirit's influence is more prominently expressed as active both in individual and community life. The Spirit of God is sometimes described almost in terms of personality.

Israel grieves "the holy spirit" (Isa 63:10-14) and the Spirit of God needs no instruction nor counsellor (Isa 40:13,14). However, as we have said, the Spirit is first and last a religious term to describe religious experience. The Old Testament is moral and practical rather than speculative and metaphysical. The Spirit is simply God acting upon and in men, imparting something of his own power, mind, and character. The Spirit is the divine agent and energy rather than a distinct personality. It is not a gift separate and distinct from God but is God himself at work in human life. And it cannot be repeated too often, this conception of the Spirit which makes possible the religious interpretation of history as it is presented to us in the Old Testament, is grounded in the religious experience of individuals who knew God and had their lives charged with the power of the divine energy and the knowledge of the divine will.

(2) "Spirit" (Πνεῦμα) in Greek Literary Usage¹

Since the literature, religion, and philosophy of Greece contributed practically nothing to the primitive Christian conception of "the Holy Spirit", we can indicate in a summary manner the range of usage for the term "spirit" as it appears in the literature of Greece in the classical, post-classical, pre-Christian, and contemporary-Christian periods.

Πνεῦμα does not occur at all in the writings of Homer, Hesiod or Pindar but makes its earliest appearance with Aeschylus in the fifth century B.C. In the entire history of its usage, πνεῦμα is predominantly a term of substance, its most frequent use being "wind". Throughout Greek literature it denotes the most intangible of substances - wind, breath, air. Ψυχή (soul) is the prevalent functional term to designate that element in a living being, usually man, which makes him alive, feel, act. At times ψυχή is said to be πνεῦμα but this merely indicates that the substance πνεῦμα is for the moment functioning psychically. Throughout the classical period πνεῦμα is predominantly a physical term always meaning an extremely refined and rarified kind of substance. It is used to indicate the stuff of which souls are made but rarely does it refer to life and never is it used in a definitely psychical or religious sense. In only one place does Aristotle speak of the vital, generative substance which is in all plants and animals and pervades all things as πνεῦμα.

"The fundamental meaning of "ruach" and "pneuma" is the same, viz., wind. Whereas the first extant appearance of "pneuma" in this sense dates from the fifth century B.C., "ruach" dates from the eighth century B.C., when we find it meaning "spirit" and used of the spirit of God. Of the deification of "pneuma" there are no discoverable traces in the classical period of Greek literature. Alike, therefore, in the starting-point and in the general range of usage, there is a large measure of parallelism between the Hebrew and Greek terms. But the order in which the meanings are developed is not the same and the Hebrews were far in advance of the Greeks in developing the idea of the divine spirit." ("Spirit, Soul, and Flesh", p. 72)

¹ Burton, E. D., "Spirit, Soul, and Flesh", to which we are heavily obligated for data in this section.

At the close of the classical period there is just the suggestion of the idea of soul-stuff by which $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ becomes the basis of all existence. In the post-classical period this idea develops still farther into the conception of the divine spirit, $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon$, which was at first regarded quantitatively. Posidonius, writing about 100 B.C., said that $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ is $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, although there is slight evidence to indicate that the phrase $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ was written and in use about 500 B.C. For Posidonius $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ as applied both to the human soul and to $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ was still thought of substantively and ultimately was considered to be material.

Hints of an all-pervading $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ are found in Greek writers of the early Christian period in Plutarch (100 A.D.), Epictetus, Galen, and other writers, but not until Sextus Empiricus (225 A.D.) is there a fully developed doctrine of $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ as permeating all, both animate and inanimate. $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\upsilon\omicron\nu$ never occurs in Greek literature, although $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ $\omicron\upsilon\pi\nu\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$, $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon$, $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ are found. The reason seems to lie in the fact that there is a fundamental distinction in the direction of the paths of development of the נֶפֶשׁ and "pneuma" from a common starting-point. This difference lies in the spiritual, cultural background of the Hebrews and the Greeks and the structure of thought growing along with it. Greek philosophy is basically grounded in the natural world, which one can observe and apprehend with the senses. Hebrew religion is basically grounded in the spiritual world, which realities can be apprehended with the inner powers of personality. For the Jewish conception of the spirit it is characteristic and significant that it is the Spirit of $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$; for the Greek, that the spirit is a natural phenomenon. In Greek thought the speculative plays a role, as it is directed toward the natural world, which has no parallel in Hebrew thought. In Jewish thought, the idea of $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ plays a

part which has no counterpart or parallel in Greek speculative thought.¹

"Der Unterschied von RUACH und PNEUMA liegt nicht in dem Grundgedanken, aber in der Ausprägung und Abtönung des Sprachgebrauchs. Es ist ein Unterschied, nicht der ursprünglichen Vorstellungsweise, sondern der geistigen Kultur und der mit ihr erwachsenden Struktur des Denkens."

(3) "Spirit" in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

These writings are valuable in a general way to bridge the gap between the Old and the New Testament periods; or, more definitely, between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. It is natural to inquire whether or not there is any progress of thought or experience centered about the Spirit of God in this period when prophecy had long ceased, (IMacc. 4:46; 9:27; 14:41), having given way to the priesthood and the Law, and then to the work of the scribes whose duty was the exposition of the Law and its application to life. The Jewish canon was closed, as far as the Law and Prophets were concerned, and these were revered as inspired, sacred scripture. In a summary way we may say that real development or additions to the tradition of the Spirit are wanting, although some solidifications occur which do constitute contributions.

We read that, if the great Lord will, the righteous man "shall be filled with the spirit of understanding" (Sir. 39:6). When Susanna was led away to death, "God raised up the holy spirit of a young youth whose name was Daniel" (Sus. 45). The son of David is to be mighty in the holy spirit (Psa. Sol. 17:42), although this expression marks no advance to a belief in a personal spirit of God.

The growing angelology of the Pharisees may possibly have obscured the biblical idea of the living spirit as the operative force in nature

¹ Büchsel, D.F., "Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament" (cf. pp. 37-54)

² ibid, p. 54

and in man (En. 60:12f). When prophecy was silenced it seemed to mark the suspension of the activity of the divine spirit. Not much is to be gained from the few references to the spirit contained in the apocalyptic writings. Beltesnazzar's queen speaks of Daniel as one "in whom is the spirit of the holy gods" (Dan. 5:11) and as possessing an "excellent spirit" (5:12; 6:3). But it is not indicated whether this is the spirit of Janwen. In Enoch God is very often the "Lord of spirits" and Jai's "Elect One" is seated on the throne of glory of the Lord of spirits and the spirit in righteousness is poured out over him (En. 62:2)¹. In the Testament of Judas 24 it is said that the heavens will open over Messiah, pouring down upon him the blessings of the spirit from the holy father and the Messiah himself will pour out the spirit of his grace upon his subjects who will become truly his sons. (This work was written about 135-105 B.C) In the Psalms of Solomon the Messiah is made strong through the holy spirit (17:42) and his contemporaries live in the wisdom of the spirit (13:8) while the sinners have received a spirit of seduction from God (8:14). In the Book of Jubilees 1:21, 23 the holy spirit is God's gift in the time of salvation as in Ez. 36. Jub. 5:8; 10:3 mention God as the God of the spirit in all flesh; Jub. 40:5, the spirit in Joseph corresponds to Gen. 41:33; in Jub. 31:12 Isaac has the spirit of prophecy.

In the Testament of the 12 Patriarchs frequent use is made of the idea of the spirit but chiefly in relation to good and evil spirits. For example, the customary view that there is a spirit within man is expanded until there are seven or eight spirits within him, (Gen 5; Jos. 7).

Altogether, the tradition of the Spirit as found in the Old Testament is not advanced by the references in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. We may say of these scattered references that they give no view of a genuine

¹cf. En. 49:1-4; Psa. Sol. 17:42; 18:8; Test. Levi 18.

experience of the Spirit of God. The conception of the Spirit remains the same as in the post-exilic times. One knows the Spirit of God as a divine agent through which God created and rules the world and leads Israel or individual Israelites. As Test. Xuan 24 indicates, the tradition persists which looks to the future, divinely established era when Messiah will not only receive the blessings of the Spirit from God but he in turn will pour out the divine spirit upon the community of the true Israel. This is another link in the chain of tradition which influences the primitive, Jewish-Christian interpretation of their experience of endowment with "the Holy Spirit".

However, as a whole this period does not add much of significance. A fair statement is given by B. Michael¹:-

"This conception of the Spirit is both enriched and modified;-enriched in so far as the inspiration of scripture appears among the operations of the Spirit; modified and softened in so far as the representation of the Spirit was passed over as that of the divine wisdom, so that reflection and inspiration began to pass over into one another and the operation of the Spirit was seen primarily in wisdom, knowledge, and the like."

The soul of man is spoken of as a spirit just as demons and angels are spirits. This representation of spirits betrays a Persian-Babylonian influence as the conception of the spirit of men betrays a Greek influence. However, these are random influences.

Thus, we see that in this period the earlier ideas of the Spirit are retained and tend to be modified by certain outside influences rather than becoming enriched by them.

¹ B. Michael, F.D. "Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament", p. 71

(4) "The Spirit" in Jewish-Greek Writings

The Jewish works written originally in Greek indicate in general the same usage of "spirit" as the writings contained in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. The most important Jewish-Greek writings to be considered are the Vision of Solomon, the works of Philo, and Josephus.

The author of the Alexandrian book of the Wisdom of Solomon is a Jew who speaks and writes Greek. In the work of this Jew of the diaspora, the idea of the Spirit is not a prominent consideration. But where he does mention the Spirit it has a variety of meanings. While occasionally it signifies "wind" (5:11, 23; 17:18) and "breath" (11:20), it usually connotes "spirit" and frequently refers to the Spirit of God. The spirit of the Lord (πνεῦμα κυρίου) permeates all things:-

Wis.Sol.1:7 "The spirit of the Lord hath filled the world"

13:1 "For thine incorruptible spirit is in all things".

God breathes into man a vital spirit (15:11); the spirit of man is the seat of life (16:14). "Wisdom is a spirit that loveth man" (1:6), although it is also said that in wisdom is a spirit (7:22f), for there is in her a spirit quick of understanding and holy. In response to prayer there comes from God to man a spirit of wisdom (7:7). God sends his holy spirit to give men wisdom:-

Wis.Sol.9:7 "And who ever gained knowledge of thy counsel except thou gavest wisdom and sendest thy Holy Spirit from on high?"

There is resident in man a holy spirit of discipline, which is identified with wisdom (1:4,5).¹

Philo is a typical representative of Alexandrian Judaism - a Jew thoroughly saturated with Greek culture and philosophy, who retains his

¹ "There are evident traces of the Stoic materializing conception of spirit, especially in 7:22f., and nowhere a strict hypostatizing of the divine spirit, any more than of wisdom with which the spirit is identified". (E.D.Burton, "Spirit, Soul, and Flesh", p. 156)

self-consciousness as a Jew. In his writings he attempts to express ideas of Hebrew origin in the thought forms of Greek philosophy. He has the advantage of being thoroughly familiar with the Old Testament at the same time he has a general knowledge of Greek philosophy. His system of thought is essentially dualistic, since his ultimate principles are God and matter.

Philo's use of $\piνεῦμα$ is mostly derived from the Hebrew "ruach" through the medium of the Septuagint and only in part from Greek philosophy. While he frequently uses it in the sense of wind and occasionally "air", he has used it nearly fifty times characteristically with reference to the Spirit of God. Philo's literal interpretation of Gen. 2:7 is informing. The clay refers to the body of Adam and the breathing of the divine spirit into him to the impartation of the soul. Because of his dualistic nature, man is both mortal and immortal. While this interpretation approximates the Greek conception of $\psiυχή$ as $\piνεῦμα$, the resemblance is not real but formal. For Philo the soul is divine spirit in distinction from the body which is matter. Of special interest is the assumption that the spirit of God cannot dwell continuously with men, although all men have it at times. However, the divine spirit may remain for a long time as with Moses. Philo also gives expression to the thought that there are two classes of men, - those who live by the divine spirit which is reason, and those who live by the bodily pleasures. In general, $\piνεῦμα$ is not a functional term used synonymously with $\psiυχή$, $νοῦς$, but a substantial term denoting the divine spirit. The $\piνεῦμα$ of Philo is less materialized than that of the Stoics but is still quantitative rather than individualized.¹ Philo's conception of the prophet is that he is merely the instrument and interpreter of the divine voice. So long as he is under divine influence, he

¹ see E. D. Burton, "Spirit, Soul, and Flesh", pp. 157ff.

cannot exercise his own reason, for the divine spirit is in full possession of him. This is certainly a mechanical view of inspiration. Of the ethical aspect of the Spirit's activity in human life, Philo says little, - only that the function of the Spirit is to glorify mental vision and the capacity for the intellectual knowledge of God, accomplishing its mission either by purifying and enhancing the natural faculties or, in the case of the prophets, entirely superseding them. The Philonic writings make no mention of the Spirit of God as restoring or renewing the moral nature of man. One has the feeling that Philo's fondness for Greek speculative thought and philosophy has attenuated his religious interests and spiritual sensitivities as a Jew.

Our consideration of Josephus can be confined to a paragraph, for he has nothing important to contribute to this study. In Josephus' idea of God the conception of the Spirit has no part. When he uses *πνεῦμα* to denote wind or breath or in reference to human beings, it is either the seat of the emotions and passions or signifies superhuman beings, "evil spirits", demonic spirits, and the like. In fact, his presentation of the Spirit is in accord with that understood by any Jew of the first century who had come under the influence of Greek culture. He has much to say of the prophets and prophetic experience but he adopts the ideas of his contemporaries regarding them. Their primary function is to predict the events of the future. They are important, also, as the authors of the canonical books. Isaiah is not lacking with the prophets but it is not essential. In relation to the prophets of his time Josephus has nothing to say about the Spirit. He makes no mention of any future outpouring of the Spirit. What he does say in all his writings about the Spirit is thoroughly conventional, neither original nor significant.

Alexandrian Judaism, in short, produced no original, clearly defined

ideas of the Spirit which advanced the historical development of the conception.

"Der jüdische Hellenismus bedeutet in der Geschichte des Geistgedanken und der Geisteserlebnisse einen Endpunkt, höchstens einen Durchgangspunkt, jedenfalls nicht einen Ausgangspunkt geschichtlicher Bewegung."¹

(5) Πνεῦμα in the Mystery Cults and Magical Writings

It is both modern and popular to attribute many of the forms of thought and practice in the Christian life of the first century to the shaping influences of contemporary mystery cults, magical formulae, and allied phenomena. The comparatively recent discoveries of magical texts containing many important New Testament words and phrases, seem to lend weight to this viewpoint. For our consideration it is to be noted that πνεῦμα is a word of frequent occurrence and in many instances it appears as πνεῦμα ὁσίον and πνεῦμα ἄγιον. In an introductory chapter such as this is intended to be, it is not possible to go into details but merely to indicate the results of investigations as they bear upon our theme of the contributing factors in the development of the tradition which lies behind the New Testament ideas of "the Holy Spirit".

The papyri reveal the widespread extent of various cults and therapeutic societies in the first Christian century with their many common features. The individual mystery cults of Isis, Osiris and "Hermes" exist predominantly in Egypt; there are the Pnygian cults of Attis and Betyl(?); the Persian cult of Mithras; and the cult of Syria;--all with a common objective. Through the secret rituals and practices of the mystical, esoteric cult, a high type of religious knowledge and experience was to be attained. This religious goal was always union of the worshipping with the divinity or the acquisition of divine power and reality as a personal possession.

¹ D. P. Michael, *ibid.*, p. 99

Ecstasy is a predominant characteristic and an almost necessary feature of most of the cults. In fact, this experience of mystical ecstasy is the high point of the cult. But it is significant that Livius, writing of the Bacchus cult in Rome and Apuleius in his account of the Isis cult in Egypt, make no mention of the spirit in this procedure. It is in connection with the prophets that we find mention of *νεῦμα*. But the place of prophecy in the mystery cults is not clear. However, it is clear from the papyri that *νεῦμα* could have high significance for the self-consciousness and the utterances of the prophets. Whether the prophets always were in possession of a spirit is not clear. That they could be and were possessed by the spirit in particular cases is clear. This much is established: In the first century A.D. one knew of poets and seers who, moved by the spirit, had spoken but they already belonged to the past and now speeches inspired by the spirit were copied and affected. This holds true for the shadowy pictures of the prophets connected with the mystery cults.

Of an entirely different class are the prophets and "Pneumatiker", of whom we read in the magical texts. Behind their words stand some sort of a genuine religious experience. The *νεῦμα* is regarded as gaseous. The spirit which enters into man is likewise the spirit which penetrates from heaven to earth and from the earth to the subterranean regions. *Νεῦμα* is the power which comes from the gods through the prayer of a magician. Very instructive is the prayer:-

"I am your prophet, to whom you have imparted your secrets in full. Your genuine name, which you have transmitted to the prophet is. . . ."

The most illuminating example of the self-consciousness and ability possessed by a prophet-magician is contained in the liturgy of

¹ Weizsäcker: "Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, 1888, s. 196, s. 2445. Quoted from Büchsel, "Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament", p. 107

the Mithras cult.¹ The prophet-magician possesses eternal πνεῦμα. "Holy spirit breathes in" him (ἱερὸν πνεῦμα). The πνεῦμα is something divine. A divinity is called "Lord of the πνεῦμα". There is mention of "spirit-light" (πνευματοφῶς). But the πνεῦμα is substantial and elemental.

It is true that πνεῦμα ἁγίον occurs in some of these magical texts which have been preserved. What does this indicate as to their possible bearing upon the New Testament idea? We are not yet in possession of sufficient data to give us definite information or to demonstrate any such direct influence. In fact, the influence might well turn in the other direction.

"In Zaubertexten is auch πνεῦμα ἁγίον zu finden, aber dass rein heidnisch, nicht synkretistisch d. h. vom Judentum oder Christentum beeinflusst sind, ist nicht gesichert."²

"In view of the absence of definite testimony to the existence of such an oriental idea (holy spirit) and of the syncretistic character of the religions which gave rise to the magical papyri, it is perhaps quite as possible that the latter derived the term from Jewish and Christian writings. There seems at least little reason to deny that Judaism and Christianity may have influenced the contemporary religions as well as have been influenced by them".

(5) "The Spirit" in Judaism Contemporary with Christianity⁴

The teaching of the rabbis was originally translated only orally and was put into writing for the first time somewhere in the second century A. D. Consequently, the precise rabbinical teachings and ideas concerning the Spirit of God, as they were presented in the time of Jesus and the apostles, are unknown. However, since the solemn aim of those who transferred the oral traditions to writing was to transmit faithfully, we may well believe that these teachings represent practically the ideas prevailing at the time of Jesus and during the apostolic age and the period of the

¹ See Büchsel, *ibid.*, p. 108 for informing treatment.

² D. Büchsel, "Spirit, Flesh", pp. 174-175.

⁴ See chapters in *ibid.*, G. F. Moore, "Judaism"; D. F. Fox, "Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament".

New Testament writings.

The phrase "the Holy Spirit" appears frequently in the rabbinic literature. While "holy Spirit" in its three appearances in the Old Testament is not used in connection with prophecy, it is commonly so used in the literature of rabbinical Judaism both in reference to prophetic inspiration and the inspiration of scripture. The promise of God (Dt.18:15?) to raise up a prophet like Moses as his mouthpiece to the chosen people, is fulfilled by putting the "holy spirit" in the mouths of these prophets who succeed Moses, (Zech.7:12; Targum Is.40:13). "The holy spirit" is the spirit of prophecy. All the prophets spoke by "the holy spirit". So closely associated are these ideas that when Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi - the last of the prophets - died, "the holy spirit" departed from Israel (Tosefta, Sota 13:2; Sanhedrin, 11a). When the Holy Spirit was withdrawn from Israel, the age of God's revelation by prophecy came to an end. Fortwith the Holy Spirit was connected with the inspiration of scripture through the prophetic character of the written books. In fact, it was only because of this emphatic assertion that the writings attributed to Solomon were regarded as inspired and became a part of the sacred canon:-

"The Holy Spirit rested upon him and he spoke these books, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs". (Cant. R., Cant. 1:1)
--ed. Wilna

With the inspiration of the sacred writings and the formation of the canon of sacred scripture, the prophets were succeeded by the scribes, the interpreters of the written word of God and the custodians of the unwritten law. Although God no longer spoke by the Holy Spirit through the mouths of prophets, he still communicated with men. Upon occasion he spoke by a mysterious voice:-

"When the last prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi died, the Holy Spirit ceased out of Israel; but nevertheless it was granted them to hear (communications from God) by means of a mysterious voice." (Tosefta, Sota, 13:2. cf. Sota 48b, Yoma 9b, Sanhedrin 11a).

This mysterious voice (bat kol) took the place of the Holy Spirit as God's method of divine communication. This "bat kol" is the voice of the Holy Spirit.

"It revealed the higher will, not in an unintelligible speech of the Christian gift of tongues but in perfectly intelligible words.. It is a heavenly, divine voice which proclaims God's will or judgment, his deeds and his commandments, to individuals or a number of persons, to rulers, to communities, or to whole nations."¹

The rabbinical writings record many instances in which this mysterious voice was heard both by individuals and by numbers together. Perhaps the most important occasion was when the learned Jewish scribes and scholars were gathered at Jamnia in an effort to settle certain questions upon which the rival scholars, Hillel and Shammai, were at odds. It is reported that the voice said, "The dicta of both are words of the living God but the dictum of Hillel is the legal norm (halakah)", (Jer. Berakoth 3b). On another occasion when the learned were gathered in the house of a certain Borion in Jericho, a mysterious voice was heard to say, "There is here a man who is worthy that the Holy Spirit should rest upon him but that his generation is not worthy." All eyes turned to the elder Hillel. The same words were spoken upon another occasion at a gathering at Jamnia and everybody present saw that Samuel the Little was meant, (Tosefta, Sotah 13:3f Sotah 48b, Sanhedrin 11a). John Hyrcanus heard such a mysterious voice out of the inner sanctuary announcing that his sons, who were on a military expedition to Antioch, had won a victory. Note was made of the time of the utterance and it proved to be the very hour at which the battle was decided, (Josephus, Ant. xiii, 10, 3, 282; Tos. Sotah 13:5, Sotah 33a).

The belief that God still communicated with his people is further illustrated in this literature by the use of "shekinah" - "the presence" -

¹ Ludwig Blau: Article "Bat Kol" in Jew. Ency. II pp 588-592, from which these illustrations are derived.

as a reverent equivalent for God and almost synonymously for "Holy Spirit." The Holy Spirit frequently occurs in connections where "sachinan" is elsewhere used without any apparent difference in meaning. However,

"this fact that they are used interchangeably within a certain range does not mean that they were identified in conception. In the Jewish thought of the time the specific function of the Holy Spirit was the inspiration of prophecy or of scripture, differing in this respect from the O.T. as well as from Christian usage."¹

We are to observe that the Spirit of God and the revelations of the Holy Spirit for the rabbinical writers are first and foremost associated with the past. The prophets HAD the Spirit; the scripture was inspired by the Holy Spirit. As to whether the Holy Spirit could be possessed by men in the present, there are references which support both the affirmative and the negative views.² What is clear is that in regard to the Holy Spirit there was felt to be a great contrast between the past and the present. The rabbis did not venture to put themselves in the class of the prophets of old or of the men spiritually akin to the prophets. To be considered the sons of the prophets was for them already a title of dignity and office, but the rabbis did not feel themselves equipped and qualified for the prophetic office, which was temporarily vacant. A statement by R. Simon ben Gamaliel indicates this clearly:-

"Since the elders were attended by the Holy Spirit, they named their sons after events (particularly after future events); but we are named after the names of our fathers, because we are not attended by the Holy Spirit."³

This theory of the withdrawal of the Spirit from Israel was so current that it was said,

"once the Gentiles also had the Holy Spirit but since the giving of the Law on Sinai...he withdrew himself from them".⁴

Balaam was regarded as the last prophet of the heathen or Gentiles.

¹ G. F. Moore, "Judaism", Vol. I, p. 438

² see F. D. M. Schell, *ibid.*, pp. 123ff. for references and exposition

³ *Serachoth rabba* 10, 25 (see Strack-Billerbeck, "Kommentar z. N. T. aus Talmud und Midrasch", I, p. 63, on 1:21a)

⁴ *Seder Olam* R. 21

On the other hand there are many expressions which indicate that living persons and leaders of the present may possess the Holy Spirit. This is true of several famous rabbis¹: - Akiba, Tamaiel, Hiron ben Jochnai, Hillel, Samuel the Less. Compare with this the references above to the effect that Hillel and Samuel the Less did not have the Spirit but were worthy to receive the Spirit; it was the time which was not worthy. Clearly there is conflict between the two ideas: - the present is without the Spirit, and the thought that some few, great, and worthy individuals among the rabbis were in possession of the Spirit. To account for this it is suggested that the second is legendary and the first idea of non-activity and presence in the living age is accurate: -²

"Man ursprünglich diesen Männer nur die Würdigkeit für den Geistbesitz zuschrieb, und später daraus die Behauptung des Geistbesitzes wurde."

The association between the possession of the Spirit and the resurrection from the dead is emphasized, - "The Holy Spirit leads to the resurrection" (Sota 9, 15). An outpouring of the Spirit was expected in the Messianic era of Israel's deliverance but the ideas ^{where?} were mere repetitions of those contained in Joel 2: 28, Ez. 36: 26; Rom. 11: 29. In a few instances the Holy Spirit is indicated as the reward of genuine piety and not as the power which produces it. The ethical character of the Holy Spirit is beyond dispute, for the holiness of the Spirit is everywhere taken for granted. We may note the appearance of the Spirit as the coming of light like fire. The Spirit shines within a person: -

"The countenance of a person shines like a torch when the Spirit rests upon him". (Vajikra R. 16, 17)

Appearances of fire surround the rabbis who engage themselves with the sacred word inspired by the Spirit.³

¹ Strack-Billerbeck, "Kommentar z. N. T. aus Talmud u. Midrash", I, pp. 217, 557

² Quotation from Büchsel, "Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament" p. 124

³ Strack-Billerbeck, *ibid.*, II, p. 608

It seems significant, however, that while the presence and the activity of the Holy Spirit, especially in relationship to prophecy, is generally thought of as in the past, direct communication with God (rather, from God) is provided for by "rat gol" and the conception of "shekinah". The terminology may vary but the conscious experience of divine presence, guidance, and instruction persists.

We believe it has been made clear that the direct contributions to the development of the Holy Spirit tradition have come up from the Hebrew past as recorded in the Old Testament. As we approach the study of the New Testament ideas concerning the Holy Spirit, we may well present a summary of the leading ideas in Palestinian Judaism which will link directly to the representations of the activities of the Spirit given in Mark and Matthew. (We shall consider separately the Lucan use in the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts).

The chief points of the Palestinian-Jewish conceptions of the Spirit may be expressed thus:-

- "(1) The withdrawal of the activity of the spirit from physical nature.
 - "(2) Limitation of its operation to the range of human activities.
 - "(3) Its use to explain the ancient national history and literature.
 - "(4) Denial of its activity in contemporary life.
 - "(5) Expectation that it would once more operate in the future Messianic kingdom.
- " All these assumptions lie in the background of the earliest N.T. thought on the subject. Here it is used of man never of nature. Its application to the history and writings of ancient Israel is one of the most frequent N.T. uses, while the idea of the working of the Spirit as a part of the Messianic program is the main taproot from which springs the entire growth of the peculiar N.T. doctrine of the Spirit."¹

We have noted already some of the influential passages associating the Spirit of God with the Messiah and the Messianic age. Isa. 11:2 declares

¹ I. F. Wood, "The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature", p. 119

that the Spirit will be given to the Messiah in all its fullness and that it will rest upon him as an abiding possession. God will ultimately effect his great purpose for Israel in the person of the Messiah, in whom the whole divine power will be concentrated. The various Servant-passages of Deutero-Isaian¹ convey the same idea, whether the servant refers to the ideal nation Israel or to the individual Messiah. It is the task of the Servant to bring to a consummation God's work, for which he has been chosen. This is identical with the Messiah's task, and the Servant, like the Messiah, is endowed with the Spirit of God in order that he may bring the divine purpose and plan to fulfillment (Isa. 42:1; 61:1). The thought is all the more significant if, as seems most likely, the Servant is the ideal Israel. Of particular interest are occasional passages which describe the Messiah as equipped for his office by the full endowment of the Spirit. The idea was barely touched upon in Ezech 32:2 but was more fully expressed in Psa. Sol. 17, 18, which add that in so far as he possesses Spirit in extraordinary measure he will be of divine nature. This conception was evidently held by the author of the Test. Twelve Patriarchs, that through the Messiah God "will pour the Spirit of grace over men so that they will walk in the ways of the Lord," (Test. Jud. 24:2). The importance of such passages lies in the fact that they indicate how thoroughly the idea of Isa. 11:2 was established in the hopes for the future. We observe that this future hope which had been bound with ~~with~~ the nation is increasingly coming to be associated with the person of an individual Messiah, who shall not only be endowed with the plenitude of the divine Spirit, but shall pour out the Spirit of God upon the community of the true Israel in the beginnings of the Messianic era.

¹ Isa. 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12

A. 2. THE NEW TESTAMENT VIEW OF "THE HOLY SPIRIT" (EXCLUSIVE OF THE LUCAN WRITINGS)

(1) The Synoptic Gospels, Mark and Matthew

In our consideration of what Mark and Matthew have to say about the Spirit of God, it will be helpful to distinguish between and treat separately the significance of John the Herald, the teachings of Jesus, and the conceptions of the writers or the sources they used, as they are significant respectively for the development of the Christian "Holy Spirit" tradition.

All the gospels record the words of John the Herald, wherein he contrasts his own baptism with that of the Messiah and designated it as a mere water baptism while that of the Messiah will be a "baptism with the Holy Spirit" (Mk. 1:8) or "with the Holy Spirit and fire" (Mt. 3:11). John expected a baptism of the Spirit from the Messiah in the kingdom just at hand; -i.e., an investment or impartation of the divine spirit. His representation of the Spirit is that of the Old Testament and Judaism, set forth in the prophets and the psalms. His word concerning baptism with the Spirit bears witness to the fact that the Old Testament expectations of the Spirit had revived again previous to the teaching or even the coming of Jesus. John, the Herald of the approaching Messianic kingdom, is the one who revives these expectations. He is the connecting link between the Old Testament-prophetic idea of the Spirit of God and the primitive Christian conception of "the Holy Spirit". John also firmly united the ideas of the Spirit with those relating to the coming Messiah. The Spirit comes from the Messiah and if the Spirit

is the gift of God to his people it is his gift through the Messiah. The expectation of the end and the approaching kingdom is Messianic for John the Herald.

"The significance of the Baptist in the history of Christian thought and the possession of the Holy Spirit in primitive Christianity consists in the fact that he took up the old prophetic thoughts of an outpouring of the Spirit in the future time of salvation and bound it fast to the Messianic ideas and hopes. The Messiah for him is the giver of the Spirit,--i.e., an inner renewal of humanity."¹

When we come to the teachings of Jesus we are surprised to discover that Jesus has very little to say about the Spirit. What he does say (outside the record of the Third Gospel) seems to add little to the traditional conceptions but it does bring into the living present the expectations connected with the promise of the Holy Spirit activities.

The recorded words of Jesus present the following uses of "the Spirit" as meaning the Spirit of God:-

"Whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness." (Mk.3:29; Mt.12:31-32; Lk.12:10)

"David himself said in the Holy Spirit" (Mk.13:36; Mt.23:43; cf. Lk.20:42)

"Whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye; for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit" (Mk.13:11; Mt.10:20; Lk.12:12)

"If I by the Spirit of God cast out demons, then is the kingdom of God come upon you" (Mt.12:28; cf. Lk.11:20)

"How much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?" (Mt.7:11; cf. Lk.11:13)

But three of these sayings will concern us at this point, since the others will be considered carefully and in detail when we investigate their use in the Third Gospel. These three sayings, which beyond doubt reflect genuine words of Jesus, are contained in Mk.3:29; 12:36; 13:11.

Perhaps the most important passage is Mk.3:29, where Jesus meets the charge that he has performed his wonderful works by the aid of the devil.

¹ D.F. Bänzel, "Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament", p.147

The whole point of Jesus' answer is that those who slander his work blaspheme against the Holy Spirit through whose activity and power his wonderful work is made possible. Jesus is declaring emphatically that the power behind his miracles is the power of the Spirit of God.¹ It seems evident that here Jesus does not conceive any mystical idea about his own person and work but simply takes up a familiar O.T. idea. Like the ancient leaders and prophets of Israel whom the Spirit of God empowered to do extraordinary works, he is acting by the enabling power which is due to the Spirit of God. The age of prophecy had revived. John was prophesying of the near approach of the Messianic kingdom and calling for repentance. Jesus committed himself to the cause of the kingdom. Why should not he feel at least the prophetic urge and so attribute his healing power to the Spirit of God? How else was he to account for it? The significant thing about this recorded saying is that it reveals something of Jesus' own self-consciousness that he is endowed with the Spirit of God which enables him to perform extraordinary works of healing.

In Mk. 12:36 Jesus is simply giving expression in a familiar way to an old, familiar view that the O.T. was written under the inspiration of the Spirit of God. "David himself said in the Holy Spirit" was a customary formula. This reference, then, gives us no light upon what Jesus' own personal views were regarding the Spirit but here he simply echoes a current phrase.

In Mark 13:11 the saying throws some real light upon Jesus' idea of the work of the Spirit, if this verse be accepted as authentic. It has Messianic significance, for the Spirit is that of inspiration - so deeply rooted in the O.T. usage - it will furnish living power to the members of the Messianic community when the Messiah is absent and their own powers are inadequate. Here the Spirit is promised not for prophecy but for testimony.

¹"This would appear to be the only uncontested reference to the Spirit in the synoptic teaching" (E. P. Scott: The Spirit in the N. T.). Scott suggests that here Jesus uses the idea only because it is forced upon him.

in the interests of advancing the Messianic kingdom. The guidance of the Spirit is not for personal safety but is a special gift to satisfy specific spiritual needs upon particular occasions as these needs might arise. While something may be said for the suspicious character of this chapter, I believe the authenticity of this reference to the Holy Spirit will be supported by the results of our investigation in the Third Gospel. In that event it is an important expression of Jesus' own Messianic consciousness during this period of his ministry.

The fact that the gospel writers, in the light of the later importance of the Holy Spirit tradition and the fact that they associated its power as a present possession with Jesus, have shown a marked restraint in actually giving us only a few sayings of Jesus which refer to the Spirit - whereas we should expect them to take every opportunity to signify the relationship - seems to stamp these few sayings as original and genuine utterances of Jesus.

Upon first thought we might infer that the Spirit was of minor significance and consequence for Jesus. However, to say that Jesus' teachings do not emphasize the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is not to say that the Spirit is of inconsequence for him. Two of these three sayings just mentioned are big with self-consciousness and one of them possesses Messianic suggestions. The belief of the disciples that Jesus was supremely endowed with the Spirit is not so important as the fact that Jesus himself possessed this consciousness. This experience of Jesus is rich with power for the gradual development of his Messianic consciousness as we shall see when we consider the Lucan passages containing "the Holy Spirit", and especially those which associate the presence of the Holy Spirit of God with Jesus' baptism, temptation, and appearance in the synagogue at Nazareth, where Jesus declares that the Old Testament prophecy is fulfilled in him.

The next approach toward an understanding of the synoptic usage of "Holy Spirit", especially as it relates to Jesus, is to inquire what the writers themselves (or the sources they used) thought of the Spirit. If the teaching of Jesus strikes us as singular by its lack of emphasis upon the Spirit, we are likewise surprised to discover a distinct paucity of material having to do with the Spirit, as such data come to us from the gospels under consideration. In the narrative material which represents our oldest tradition, Mark gives only the account of the presence of the Spirit in connection with Jesus' baptism and temptation. But this brief mention preserves for us one of the most important and significant pieces of information regarding the writer's conception of the Spirit in its relation to Jesus. This early Christian tradition incorporated in Mark indicates the belief that the plenitude of divine, spiritual endowment which was associated with the Messianic office came to rest upon Jesus in his baptismal experience and to abide with him thereafter.

The narrative of Mk. 1:10, 11¹ (cf. Mt. 3:16, 17; Lk. 3:21, 22) appears to go back to some communication of Jesus to his disciples concerning his profound religious experience upon this occasion and constitutes as authentic a piece of gospel narrative as we have. In a sense we can almost call this a saying of Jesus, as it is embodied in every record we have of this period of his life and ministry. It is indisputable that Jesus felt himself to be in possession of the Spirit, and for him the Spirit was the Spirit of God - the holy Spirit of God. It would seem that Jesus' consciousness of such possession is bound up with this religious experience at the time of his baptism. The voice from heaven designated Jesus

¹ "And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens rent asunder and the Spirit as a dove descending upon him; and a voice came out of the heavens, Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased."

In this light we can understand why Mark after the temptation story does not definitely refer to the fact of Jesus' possession of the Spirit and its control over his activities. There is no occasion for doing so; it is taken for granted; therefore, it is unnecessary to insist upon so obvious a fact. It is to be observed that Jesus shared the current conception of the Spirit and that his possession of the Spirit did not deify Jesus in the thought of the gospel writers. The Spirit remains God's Spirit, even if resident in Jesus. He cannot insist too strongly upon the fact that it was a vivid realization and personal witness of the wonderful life and personal character of Jesus and the profound impression he made which inspired the faith and won the personal allegiance of his disciples and early followers, and after his earthly ministry was followed by the personal religious experience of the first Christian believers, as reported in Acts. Stronger than Jesus' verbal testimony of possession by the divine Spirit in the baptismal and temptation stories is the testimony of his own life and personal character. It is this which accounts for such beliefs of divine spiritual endowment, ever present in the life of Jesus, and for such a tradition as that contained in the birth story of Mt. 1 (independent of the Lucan story).¹ Mt. 1:13, 20 ascribes the birth of Jesus to the action of the Holy Spirit, although the Spirit of God is nowhere connected with his personal appearance. It was the profound impression made by Jesus' life ministry and the influence of his attractive personality and character which demanded some such explanation as a virgin-birth narrative could supply, and although this is a somewhat later tradition than that of Mark, it is yet an early attempt to explain the person

¹ "Die Hauptsache ist, dass zwischen den Evangelien und der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit der Person Jesus das persönliche Erleben und Glauben der Jünger, der Gemeinde steht." (Büchsel, *ibid.*, p. 203)

of Jesus in accord with Jewish-Christian ideas of the Spirit and its activities.

In Mark and Matthew it is always Jesus who possesses the Spirit of God and never the disciples. With regard to this experience for his disciples, Jesus simply held to the promise of the scriptures, according to these gospels. The prophets had set in the foreground the possession of the Spirit by the community of Israel in the new era. John the Herald had likewise given prominence to the approaching Messianic era with its baptism of the Spirit. It is quite intelligible, therefore, that Jesus, although he did not say much about it, had set forth the idea that his disciples should have the Spirit. This is what we do find presented in the records of the Third Gospel.

(2) "THE SPIRIT" IN THE WRITINGS OF PAUL

It is both a distinct advantage and disadvantage to isolate the Lucan usage of the Spirit and give it separate consideration, which is like tearing a text away from its context; for it is just between the synoptic tradition and the Pauline that the tradition of Acts comes in the order of historical development, as we shall demonstrate. While Paul's writings may antedate those of Luke, the primitive Christian concept of the Holy Spirit antedates historically that of Paul. The disadvantage is that it is practically impossible to reconstruct any adequate synoptic view or to give

¹ "However we interpret this prelude to the gospel history, one of the motives that lie behind it would seem to be theological. According to the earliest Christian teaching, Jesus was raised to Messianic dignity after his resurrection. Later, the desire arose to think of him even in his lifetime as Messiah and the moment of his baptism was fixed on as part of his consecration. But when once it was acknowledged that he had entered on his office while he still lived on earth, the date was inevitably pushed further back. From the outset he must have borne the highest character, and the Spirit which constituted him the Messiah must have been active in his birth". (E. F. Scott, "The Spirit in the New Testament", p. 88). But behind any such speculation was the experience of personal acquaintance and observation of the life, character, and ministry of Jesus.

a fair presentation of Paul's contributions to the development of the Christian Holy Spirit tradition and omit for consideration in its rightful place the Lucan presentation of the Holy Spirit in Acts and the Gospel. On the other hand, for an appreciation of the origin and development of the unique Christian Holy Spirit tradition, it is a decided advantage to indicate the wide gap which exists between the presentation of the Spirit in the first two gospels and the Spirit as it appears in the writings of Paul. This gap can be filled only by the rich, original, primitive Christian tradition recorded by Luke. Accordingly, as we shall reconstruct it later, this important intermediate tradition will stand out in bolder relief as a well-defined, well-fitting, early church tradition which rests firmly upon the ancient and solid foundation of the Jewish Old Testament tradition and yet expresses naturally, appropriately, and in true historical perspective that which is creatively new and originally Christian. The natural and native ease with which this tradition joins itself to the remote and immediate past in respect to the teaching and expectations of the Spirit, and brings them to consummation, while at the same time it constitutes the essential foundation for the Pauline and later New Testament development of the Holy Spirit tradition, will witness strongly for the existence of a homogeneous, primitive, probably Jewish-Christian Holy Spirit tradition which Luke uses and faithfully transmits in the first half of Acts and the early part of his Gospel.

We shall present a brief treatment of Paul's uses of the Spirit and reserve until later the necessary comparison between the Lucan and Pauline usage, to see then whether Luke's tradition as transmitted by him reflects the influence of Pauline thought.

In his writings Paul brings the Christian use of *πνεῦμα* into prominence both as referring to the Spirit of God and the spirit within man.

Gunkel has presented in convenient form the frequency with which πνεῦμα occurs in the Pauline writings¹:-

"Paul's Use of Πνεῦμα and Derivations"

πνεῦμα ἁγίου - - - 12 times, excluding Pastorals and Epn.
 πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης - only in Rom. 1:4
 τὸ πνεῦμα - - - 33 times
 πνεῦμα θεοῦ - - - 14 times, including similar expressions
 πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ - - 3 times
 πνεῦμα - - - - 25 times
 By no means does ἁγίου with Paul have the later Christian
 dogmatic significance of "Spiritus Sanctus"

Very clearly the idea of the Spirit undergoes a transformation with Paul, a change accounted for only on the grounds of his own transforming religious experience when he became a Christian. Paul has interpreted the Spirit in terms of religious experience and particularly his own.² One great change which Paul inaugurates is that the Holy Spirit is more a transforming power for life than a transmitting power, although this is largely a change of emphasis. The Holy Spirit is the source of a new, distinct type of personal life as well as of the higher spiritual endowments which enhance one's native capacities. By means of the Spirit men are inwardly changed and morally renewed; their thoughts and acts constitute visible fruits of the Spirit. For Paul, the whole of Christian life was life "in the Spirit".

1. Πνεῦμα and Σάρξ

The Pauline conception and use of the Spirit take many forms of expression. Perhaps the most frequent and one of the most significant is the antithetical use of "spirit" and "flesh" (πνεῦμα καὶ σὰρξ).

With regard to πνεῦμα, Paul accepts the earlier Christian teaching and fills it with a new content of meaning. It is a power coming from God,

¹ H. Gunkel, "Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes", p. 101

² "We must be content to find in Paul what is present personal experience verified and verifiable by others then and now, description rather than definition in strict terms of the Holy Spirit's person and work." (E. W. Winstanley, "Spirit in the New Testament", p. 149)

operating under the direction of Christ and within the community of the Christian Church, investing men with gifts and powers which they lacked before. But with Paul the Spirit effects a radical change as well as imparts an energizing power. Paul does not do away with the early church tradition; rather, he builds upon it in an effort to justify and account for his own religious experience and mysticism.¹

In respect to $\Sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$, it is evident that Paul is dependent upon the Old Testament for his basic idea, according to which the weak, earthly, perishable flesh of man denotes his nature in sharp contrast to the eternal God. While it denotes human weakness, it is not made responsible for sin. This latter idea is occasionally projected by Paul. "Carnal man" is a sinful being as opposed to the "spiritual" man. Sin is deeply rooted in an inherited fleshly impulse but not in the body as such. This impulse to evil is not compulsory but it can be resisted successfully through the power of the Spirit, but only through that power. The body itself is not considered evil but rather a factor of the best life (I Cor. 6:19), although the fleshly impulse is necessarily related to the bodily life. While the body is inferior to the spirit and is the occasion for temptation, yet embodied man may emerge victor over all evil tendencies of his carnal nature by the moral strength bestowed by the Spirit and the ethical renewal effected by that divine power and aid. It is the presence of this indwelling Spirit which sustains one in the higher life and makes possible the "life in the Spirit".

¹ "It is highly significant that with all his new speculations on the work of the Spirit he holds fast to the beliefs of the earlier church. For him, as for the apostles before him, the charismata are the evidences of a higher guiding and upholding power to support Christ's people... He makes much of his own possession of those gifts (glossalalia and prophecy) and declares that the Spirit which has bestowed them dwells in him also as a regenerating power." (E. F. Scott, "The Spirit in the New Testament", pp. 130-131)

"The mind of the flesh is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the will of God, neither indeed can it be, and they that are in the flesh cannot please God". (Rom. 8:7,8)

"For if ye live after the flesh ye must die, but if by the Spirit ye put to death the deeds of the body, ye shall live."
(Rom. 8:13)

In the expression of these religious facts there are involved certain apparently confusing inconsistencies of thought and speech which have given much trouble to those who have attempted to formulate with clear fixity the Pauline theology. However, such expressions simply reveal Paul as an earnest religionist, doing his very best to describe effectively the indescribable reality of his own personal experience of Jesus Christ. This is not a logical theologian speaking. We need not be bothered by these seeming inconsistencies.

On the one hand, there are many references to "flesh" which seem to exclude the idea that "flesh" is inherently evil, (II Cor. 7:1; 5:16; 4:11; I Cor. 6:15; I Thess. 5:23; Gal. 2:30; Rom. 1:24; 6:7). In all these cases, the "flesh" is a necessary vehicle of that higher life to be attained and it cannot be evil in and of itself. On the other hand, the idea that "flesh" and sin are inseparable seems to be advanced occasionally with the "flesh" as the seat of sin, (Rom. 7:14-25; 8:3-8; Gal. 5:16f). The death of Christ is interpreted as being efficacious in destroying the principle of the flesh and establishing the life in the Spirit, which victory may be participated in by Christian believers through faith in and mystical union with Christ. It has rightly been said;-

"Paul appears to waver between two conceptions, one derived from Hebrew, the other from Hellenistic thought... we are driven to the conclusion that Paul never fully thought out and unified his ideas about the flesh."¹

These inconsistencies are more apparent than real and only emphasize the reality of the personal religious experience which Paul was trying to relate through verbal expression.

¹ H. F. Scott, "The Spirit in the New Testament", p. 136

Because they were thought to be more effective instruments to serve his purpose or to proclaim the reality of the Christian gospel, we may suppose that Paul used these Hellenistic phrases with which his Gentile readers would be familiar. Thus could he emphasize more clearly the power of God's Spirit to effect and sustain this new "life in the Spirit".

ii. "The Spirit" and Christ.

The Old Testament conception that the Spirit proceeds from God as the direct instrument and agent of his will and power is basic for Paul as for all the New Testament writers. Yet the operations of the Spirit are so closely allied with the work of Christ in Paul's experience that there are instances where he may be identifying the Spirit of God with the Spirit of Christ. This close alliance of thought was inherited from the earlier Christian teaching. Likewise, the conception that the Messiah, equipped in his own person with the fullness of the divine Spirit, will pour out his Spirit upon those who will share in the new age to be ushered in, - this conception was inherited from Old Testament prophecy. That Jesus was the Messiah and that the Spirit rested upon him in its fullness was a fixed tradition of the Christian church which had been transmitted to Paul. Therefore, Paul regarded Christ and the Spirit as inseparably related but never clearly identified. This tradition is rendered more vital for Paul by his own pneumatic experience of the risen Jesus.

When Paul speaks of the Spirit of Christ (Rom. 8:9; II Cor. 3:18; Gal. 4:6; Phil. 1:19), he is only expressing as strongly as he knows how the intimate relationship existing between Christ and the Spirit - meaning the work of Christ and the operations of the Spirit. He does not identify the Spirit with Christ, unless it be a practical identification. It is Christ who makes

the Spirit operative, brings it into action, and performs his own work through and by means of the Spirit, but the Spirit itself is referred back ultimately to God himself (Gal. 4: 6; Rom. 8: 9-11).

The most notable passage which seems to identify the Spirit of God with Christ is II Cor. 3: 17, "Now the Lord is the Spirit". But in the light of the context Paul is contrasting the natures of the old and new covenants and in this isolated passage is not referring to the nature of Christ.

"A new covenant, not of the letter but of the Spirit;
for the letter killeth but the Spirit giveth life".
(II Cor. 3: 6)

It is as though Paul were writing: The old covenant represents the rule of the letter of the law, which is the ministration of death; but the Lord represents the new rule of the Spirit, which is the ministration of life. "The Lord is the SPIRIT." Such an interpretation is complicated, to be sure, by the translation difficulty involved in 3: 18, which makes it impossible to determine the exact meaning. "καθάπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου Πνεύματος" may mean "even as from the Lord, the Spirit" (R.V.); "even as from the Lord of the Spirit"; and, also, what is more correct grammatically, "even as from the Spirit of the Lord". But whatever the interpretation of this difficult section, we may be certain that Paul's aim is religious and practical and that he is not speculating here upon the nature of Christ.¹

We may say that Paul never consciously aimed either to identify the Spirit with Christ or to keep them entirely separated. Remembering always that Paul wrote from a religious and practical viewpoint out of his own personal experience, and that Christ for Paul was the risen, inward Christ, we may even regard Paul as making a practical identification of Christ and

¹"Nothing is more remarkable in the early Christology than the absence of any suggestion that in Jesus the Spirit became incarnate... This can hardly be explained on any other ground than that the Messiah and the Spirit were quite distinct conceptions, which the Christian mind refused to confound together. Each had its own definite history and content; however closely related, they could not be made interchangeable".
(E. E. Scott, "The Spirit in the New Testament", p. 185)

the Spirit but still believe that it is not done deliberately. What Paul is endeavoring to do is to express the significance of Christ as he knew him from his own religious experience of the exalted Christ. At the same time he is making use of the Holy Spirit tradition transmitted to him from earlier Christianity.

iii. Other Uses of the Spirit with Paul

With Paul the Spirit is closely associated with new life and makes possible both the experience and the character of that life. The Christian life is morally conditioned by an act of faith in Jesus Christ; -i.e., a willing movement of the entire personality to enter into harmonious relationship and union with the exalted Jesus. The Christian life itself is the morally renewed and ethically transformed life produced by the creative energy of the Spirit. This new life is sustained, also, by the same Spirit. As Paul understands it, this new life is so different from the old that it marks a complete change and departure. This Paul attempts by vivid and graphic illustrations to indicate. To become a Christian is to enter into new life in contrast to a former condition of death. It is to become "a new creature", "a new man". It is to reenact in symbolic form the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. To die with him is to put to death the body of sin and ^{to} be raised alive with him is to put on the new man alive unto God in Christ Jesus, (Rom 6:3-11). Again, the spirit is defined in ethical terms. It is the source of all moral excellence (Gal. 2:20). The supreme gift of the Spirit is love (1 Cor. 13). Christianity is the way of life in obedience to the "law of the Spirit", expressing itself in Christian ethics, bearing and maturing the "fruits of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22). This insistence upon Christian ethical conduct as the witness and expression of the Spirit is the theme of 1 Cor. 12-14 where the first gift of the Spirit is that of

acknowledging the lordship of Christ and the other gifts are to conform to the ethical obligations of this allegiance. It is the right, moral, and edifying uses of these gifts for purposes of mutual growth in Christian life which are important. The spirit of love is the supreme gift.

All in all, the indefiniteness and variety of Paul's ideas with reference to the Spirit indicate the difficulty of compacting within a paragraph what he meant by it. We are sure that for him the Spirit was an objective, divine, indwelling presence and an enabling power which expressed itself in Christlike living. Whether it is the name for the divine self-consciousness, the exalted Christ, the indwelling presence of God, or a distinct personality, we cannot say with certainty. But the important place and vital significance of the Spirit in the Pauline interpretation of the Christian gospel may be indicated in these concluding words:-

"From the viewpoint of religious experience Paul identifies the Spirit of God and the heavenly Christ. Both are alike the indwelling cause, in the soul of man, of the present religious life and of the future resurrection and blessedness. There is but one experience and but one cause of it, which may be spoken of as the Spirit of God or as the Spirit of Christ or as Christ... The Spirit-terminology has its roots in the O.T. usage. The Christ-terminology is itself derived from Jewish thought but its employment in the description of the Christian experience and expectation has its startingpoint in Paul's own interpretation of his Damascus experience as a revelation of the Son of God in him. Unable to discard either phraseology for the other, he uses now one, now the other, now both together.... We may say that in his thought the Spirit of God is a personified power of God, operative in the spirits of men, not distinguishable, in experience at least, from the heavenly Christ. If this is to us a difficult mid-station between identity with God and personality distinct from God, it is nevertheless apparently about the point which Paul occupied."

We must remember constantly that Paul's interests and aims were religious and not speculative. He was not concerned with defining the inner nature of the Spirit but was attempting the most forceful presentation possible in order to make the gospel of Jesus Christ as real for his readers as it was for him.

¹ E. D. Burton, "Spirit, Soul, and Flesh", pp. 189-190.

(3) "THE SPIRIT" IN THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS

Since the Johannine writings beyond doubt appear later than the Lucan writings, we may expect that the ideas on "the Spirit" contained therein had little or no influence upon Luke's conception or use of the Spirit. This brief consideration of "the Spirit" as it appears in the Johannine literature is presented only to round out the New Testament tradition and to indicate by comparison how far removed is the Lucan use from this later usage.

In general the Johannine use of the Spirit is similar to that of Paul, except for the isolated instances, Jn. 3:8 where it means "wind" and Jn. 19:30 where it refers to that which departs at the moment of death. With reference to the Spirit of God, three uses appear. In Jn. 1 there is evident dependence upon the synoptic tradition which marks the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus at his baptism. In Jn. 3 and 6 the Spirit is the source of life to men, much as in the Pauline sense. In Jn. 14-17 it is not yet present but will come to occupy the place taken by Jesus and to represent him after his departure from the earth.¹

The only unique use of the Spirit of God contained in the Fourth Gospel (and the Johannine writings) is that of Jn. 4:24 which states that "God is Spirit" or "God is a Spirit". This is an identification which Paul did not make explicitly, although possibly from his religious viewpoint. It is clear from the context that it is not the personality so much as the nature of God which the saying is intended to emphasize. God can be worshipped anywhere to equal advantage because he is not limited by space, - his nature is spiritual. This seems a clear reference to a metaphysical conception of God's nature and illustrates a use and a date far removed from the primitive Christianity of Acts.

¹ "The Johannine representation is the Pauline conception converted from experience into prediction of experience." (E. D. Burton, "Spirit, Soul, and Flesh", p. 200)

II. "THE HOLY SPIRIT" IN THE THIRD GOSPEL

One of the phenomena of the Third Gospel in comparison with the first two is the frequent use of "Holy Spirit". Whereas it occurs only 4 times in Mark and 5 in Matthew, there are 13 occurrences of the phrase in Luke's Gospel. If this seems of slight importance or mere accident, the idea will be corrected by the observation that in the other Lucan writing, the Book of Acts, "Holy Spirit" occurs 42 times, while it is found in all the Pauline literature only 17 times; in the Johannine writings 3 times; and only 8 times in the remainder of the New Testament (except the Apocalypse where it does not appear). Add to this the fact that "the Spirit", meaning the Spirit of God, occurs 4 times in the Third Gospel and 12 times in Acts. The following exhibit of these data will serve as a clear indicator that the appearance of "the Holy Spirit" in both Lucan writings is no accident but is due to some particular reason.

	Mt.	Mk.	Lk.	Acts			Paul	John	Rest of N.T.	¹
				1-15	16-28	Total				
πνεῦμα with ἀγίου	5	4	13	34	8	42	17	3	8	

In the light of the particular purpose of this investigation, we desire to ascertain, first, whether the Lucan use of "the Holy Spirit" is editorial, being inserted either consciously or unconsciously to satisfy some purpose or interest in the writer's own mind; or, can its use be traced to the sources used by Luke and be accounted for upon the basis of inclusion within this source or these sources, which Luke transmits faithfully?

A detailed study of these 13 references to "the Holy Spirit" and the 4 instances of "the Spirit", based upon the external and internal evidence

¹After Sir John Hawkins' "Hosae Synopticae", p. 21. Hawkins lists 33 appearances in Acts 1-15 instead of 34.

available, will assist us in formulating the conclusion that we may with a high degree of probability assert that Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" is derived from the sources used by him in the composition of his gospel.

1. References to "The Holy Spirit"

- Lk. 1:15 "He shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb."
- 1:35 "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee"
- 1:41 "And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit"
- 1:67 "And his father, Zecharias, was filled with the Holy Spirit"
- 2:25 "The Holy Spirit was upon him"
- 2:26 "It had been revealed unto him by the Holy Spirit"
- 3:16 "He shall baptize you in the Holy Spirit and fire" (Mk. 1:8; Mt. 3:11)
- 3:22 "The Holy Spirit descended in a bodily form as a dove" (Mk. 1:10; Mt. 3:16)
- 4:1 "Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit"
- 10:21 "In that same hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit" (cf. Mt. 11:25)
- 11:13 "How much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" (cf. Mt. 7:11)
- 12:10 "Unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven" (cf. Mk. 3:29; Mt. 12:31)
- 12:12 "For the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that hour what ye ought to say" (Mt. 10:20)

"The Spirit" (Spirit of God)

- Lk. 2:27 "And he came in the Spirit in the temple"
- 4:1 "And Jesus... was led in the Spirit in the wilderness" (Mk. 1:12; Mt. 4:1)
- 4:14 "And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee"
- 4:18 "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me"

It seems feasible to postpone until later the consideration of "the Holy Spirit" references in chapters 1 and 2, since they contain peculiar Lucan material which affords no opportunity for test on the grounds of external evidence, and on other grounds there is strong presumption in favor of connecting these two chapters with a special source. Our investigation will begin, therefore, with Lk. 3:16.



(1)

- Lk.3:16 "...αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί·"
 "he shall baptize you with holy spirit and fire"
 Mk.1:8 "he shall baptize you with holy spirit"
 Mt.3:11 "he shall baptize you with holy spirit and fire"

It is generally agreed that this saying was contained in the source containing discourse material designated as Q, although the complete text of this source cannot be reconstructed. The best MS⁸ evidence supports the above reading. Although Q may well have contained εἰς μετένοον, there is no good reason to doubt that it also contained (ἐν)πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί and that both Mt. and Lk. transmit it correctly.

John could well speak of his own water baptism as "unto repentance" in contrast to the Messiah's baptism which will bring judgment upon the unrighteous and the promised outpouring of "the holy spirit" upon the righteous. It is not necessary either to suppose that Q contained only ἐν πυρί (Harnack) or that primitive Christian experience tended to combine the saying with the pentecostal interpretation and thereby account for πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (Winstanley). We have seen that Isa.11:2; Enoch, Psa. Sol. Test XII, expect that Messiah will be endowed with πνεῦμα ἁγίον in ideal fulness and, also, (Test. Lev. xviii, Jud. 24) he will impart it to others in the Messianic era. Harnack¹ advances no reason for declaring that "ἁγίῳ is very doubtful" in the Lucan text beyond his inference that Luke is particularly fond of the use of ἁγίῳ and introduces it here. Certainly, the textual evidence gives no basis for eliminating ἁγίῳ.

Since it is probable that Mk. and Q here preserve independent traditions, (it is not demonstrated that Mark used or knew Q), "the holy spirit" is doubtfully attested as present in our earliest source material. Whether Lk. here follows Mk. or some Q, in either case there is a source basis for his

¹ A. Harnack, "The Sayings of Jesus", p. 2

use of [†]πν.ἁγ.

As to idea-content, "the holy spirit" has a familiar connotation. It is conceived as the spiritual power from God to be transmitted to men through the person of the Messiah, upon whom the full plenitude of the Spirit will rest, and who will pour out the divine spirit upon the community of the true Israel in the new, the Messianic age.

(2)

Lk. 3:22 "καταβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον σωματικῶς εἶδαι ὡς περιστερὰν ἐπ' αὐτόν..."

"..and the Holy Spirit descended in a bodily form, as a dove, upon him..."

Mk. 1:10 "I..and the Spirit as a dove descending upon him"

Mt. 3:16 "and he saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove"

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον occurs "20 times in the gospel and Acts and only 10 times in the rest of the N.T."¹ ἅγιον is omitted with τὸ πνεῦμα in Mk. apparently because Mk. in 1:3 has just referred to πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ occurs only here in the synoptic gospels. The following considerations will furnish cumulative evidence to show that Lk. here transmits data embodied in his source, probably another version of Q.

Dalman², a weighty authority upon the point under discussion, says,

"In Jewish literature it is so unheard of to speak of "the Spirit" when the Spirit of God is meant, that the single word "spirit" would much rather be taken to mean a demon or the wind. Where Lk. 3:22 has τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον while Mt. 3:16 has πνεῦμα Θεοῦ and Mk. 1:10 τὸ πνεῦμα, it is only the first that would be probable in a Hebrew primitive gospel."

Investigation will sustain the hypothesis that Lk. 3:1-4:30 is a block of material apparently embodied in the version of Q used by Luke, which Lk. preferred above Mark and used as a framework into which he inserted extracts

¹ Winstanley, *ibid*, p. 10

² Dalman, "The Words of Jesus", p. 203

from the Marcan source where that gospel seemed to offer a better tradition.¹

It is of interest that (1) the "Western" reading is contained in MSS D(ateff²) and was adopted by some of the early church fathers including Clement of Alexandria.²

"Thou art my beloved son, this day have I begotten thee".

(2) This reading is a citation from Psa.2:7 and attaches Messianic significance to Jesus in the baptismal experience - a feature that Mk and Mt do not mention but perhaps imply. In this Lucan reading, Jesus' self-consciousness of sonship with God appears as the fulfilment of the Messianic promises, an association which could be ascribed first and most naturally to some primitive Jewish-Christian writer and only with difficulty to the Gentile-Christian writer, Luke, versatile as he seems to have been.

It is of interest that the Gospel of the Ebionites, a syncretistic, sectarian, Jewish-Christian document of 190-210 A.D. and written in Greek, seems to conflate the two traditions represented by MSS B and D on Lk.3:22³:-

"Σὺ μου εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἡὐδόκησα,
καὶ πάλιν· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε."

Although in general this narrative follows closely the Matthean account, at two points it confirms peculiar Lucan phraseology:-

Lk.3:22 "τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον σωματικῶς εἶδεν ὡς περιστέρην"
Gosp. Eb. "(τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον) ἐν εἶδει περιστέρᾳς"

The appearance of the phrase "in bodily form" "transforms a vision into an external event."⁴

Lk.3:23 "And Jesus himself when he began (to teach) was
about thirty years of age"

Gosp. Eb. "There arose a certain man named Jesus, and he was
about thirty years old, who called us."

¹ B. H. Streeter, "The Four Gospels", pp. 205-208

² Blasa, Zahn, Streeter, etc. accept this as original reading.

³ Epiph. Haer. 30:3. Quoted from Huot, "Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien" p13

⁴ A. B. Bruce, "Commentary on St. Luke" in Exp. Greek, in loco.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain whether the Gospel of the Ebionites made use of our Luke or in this coincidence is transmitting independently a common tradition.

The early and independent tradition of Jesus' baptism contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews¹ refers in a unique way to the Holy Spirit:-

"It came to pass when the Lord had ascended out of the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit came down and rested upon him and said to him, My son, in all the prophets I was looking for thee, that thou shouldst come and that I should rest in thee. For thou art my rest; thou art my first-born son, who reignest to eternity".

"And it came to pass" suggests Luke just as "a certain man" does in the passage quoted from the Gospel of the Ebionites. In the quotation from the Gospel according to the Hebrews the dove is not mentioned as in the synoptic gospels; rather, the Holy Spirit itself descends upon Jesus and speaks to him. The important factor for our consideration is the existence of an early, independent "Holy Spirit" tradition appearing in a written document and associated with Jesus at his baptism, of which the synoptic writers apparently know nothing.

"Holy Spirit" is used in Lk. 3:22 to indicate Jesus' investment with the Spirit of God in fulfilment of the familiar Old Testament Messianic prophecy which was a part of the legacy of religious thought inherited by Jesus as well as by the early Jewish-Christian community. Ultimately this is the expression of Jesus' profound consciousness that the Spirit of God was present in his own person and life.

(3)

Lk. 4:1 "Ἰησοῦς δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου"
 "And Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan"

Although the word order varies in some MSS, the content is the same and "Holy Spirit" is well attested textually. At first glance these words seem

¹ Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, Extra Volume, p-341, No. 4

like an editorial addition on the part of Luke, especially since ὑποταπειν is used (a frequent occurrence in the Lucan writings). But read in the light of its context this would not appear to be so.

These words give added emphasis to the close connection between the baptism and the temptation of Jesus and to the importance of "the Holy Spirit" in its relation to Jesus. Is it Luke's editorial method or his source which accounts for the close succession of references to the relationship between the Spirit and Jesus? It is highly probable that the latter holds true. In 3:16 John the Herald announces that Messiah's appearance is close at hand; he will baptize with "Holy Spirit". In 3:22 Jesus is invested with the plenary power of the Spirit of God. In 4:1 "Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit" is "led in the Spirit" into the wilderness. Victorious over the testing powers of the devil, he emerges "in the power of the Spirit" (4:14) and comes to Nazareth in the full consciousness that God's Spirit rests upon him. There he begins his public ministry. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me" (4:18) is a fulfilment in Jesus of the Messianic promises connected with the prophetic utterances of Isa. 61:1,2. From this time forth the Spirit-filled Jesus enters upon his public ministry. This Spirit tradition associated with the endowment and equipment of Jesus for his divine mission is a unifying link which binds together Lk. 3:1-4:30 and constitutes it a single block of Lucan material which betrays its dependence upon earlier source data. Streeter's observation¹ informs us further concerning this non-Markan block of tradition:-

"Whereas Mk. 1:14 says that Jesus after the temptation went into Galilee, Mt. and Lk. agree in mentioning that he went first of all to Nazareth (Mt. 4:13; Lk. 4:16). Still more remarkable, they both agree in using the form "Ναζαρά" which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament."

¹ B. H. Streeter, "The Four Gospels", p. 206

The most probable explanation of the different order in which the temptation experiences are narrated is that Luke is following the order preserved in his source rather than that he or Matthew make a conscious change to suit a conscious purpose.

For comparative purposes, the reference in the Gospel according to the Hebrews¹ is interesting. It might apply either to the temptation or the transfiguration experience of Jesus, probably the former:-

"The Holy Spirit, my mother, took me just now by one of my hairs and carried me away to the great Mt. Tabor."

This extra-canonical, primitive witness to the existence of the Holy Spirit tradition is of early origin. We have observed it also in reference to the baptism narrative. The personification of the Holy Spirit as feminine and as the mother of Jesus is interesting. Did this early conception contribute to the origin of the synoptic stories of the virgin birth of Jesus and could this have been an intermediate idea?

It is noteworthy that in the body of the synoptic gospels it is implied or expressed clearly that only Jesus was in possession of the Holy Spirit of God. The disciples were not. Here in Lk. 4:1 is the only express reference to the plenitude of the Spirit resting upon Jesus. The fact that others are mentioned as "filled with the Holy Spirit":- 1:15, promise of John; 1:41, Elizabeth; 1:67, Zecharias; reflects the influence of the primitive Christian church tradition of Acts upon Lk. 1 and 2 and probably points to another Lucan source of early, Jewish-Christian origin.

There is no reason why Luke may not have preserved the tradition in 4:1a and still have made stylistic changes and improvements, such as the use of ὑποστρέψιν.

¹ A. Menzies, Article "The Gospel according to the Hebrews" in Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, Ex. Vol. p. 342

(4)

Lk. 10: 21 "Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἡγαλλιάσατο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, καὶ εἶπεν·

"In that same hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit and said"
Mt. 11: 25 "At that season Jesus answered and said"

The best MSS attest our reading. X BDE omit ὁ Ἰησοῦς and XBCDLXE1, 33 add τῷ ἁγίῳ to πνεύματι. These changes are accepted and adopted by Tischendorf and Westcott-Hort.

While ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ is a Lucan characteristic and here is probably an editorial change for Mt's Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ καιρῷ, there is much to be said before we can assert that ἡγαλλιάσατο τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ is editorial.¹

(1) The context in which this appears must be considered; -i.e., the order of instances, and their connection. We may arrange it thus:-

L U K E -----

Lk. 10: 1-12 - Mission of the 70
10: 13-16 - Woes on 3 Gal Cities
10: 17-20 - Return of the 70
10: 21-22 - Acclamation
10: 23-24 - "Blessed are your eyes"
10: 25-28 - Greatest Commandment
10: 29-37 - The Good Samaritan
10: 38-42 - Mary and Martha

M A T T H E W -----

Mt 11: 2-19 - Discourse on Jn. Bapt.
11: 20-24 Woes on 3 Cities
11: 25-27 Acclamation

Naturally, Lk. 10, as a part of "The Great Interpolation" (9: 51-13: 14) contains much material peculiar to the Third Gospel. This outline shows clearly the presence of G and L (peculiar to Lk) material. Lk 10: 1-12, retelling the mission and the charge to the 70, records a tradition apparently unknown to either Mark or Matthew and one suited to his interests in the universality of the gospel. Lk has already given a charge to the twelve in such close proximity as to make an inadvertent doublet unlikely. All indications point to the use of a written source here, either an independent tradition (L) or some other version of G (expanded to include Proto-Lk?).

(2) Mt. 11: 25 is immediately connected with the pronouncement of woe

¹ Harnack, "Sayings of Jesus", p. 20

upon the three Galilean cities by "at that season". Lk. 10:28, on the contrary, is immediately and expressly connected with the return of the seventy where the narration is charged with the spirit of joy and rejoicing. Certainly this element of rejoicing is not interpolated by Luke into this narrative. It is more probable that "in that hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit" (10:21) immediately followed "rejoice that your names are written in heaven" (10:20) in the source used by Luke than that he carried over the element of rejoicing, ascribed it to Jesus, and added "in the Holy Spirit". For this invention there would be no apparent reason or justification. Although it has often been said that Luke puts into his gospel the elements of praise, rejoicing, thanksgiving, and joy, these features will bear independent investigation to determine whether they are merely editorial insertions or constituent parts of the source material used by Luke. In this connection the observation of Streeter's is suggestive.¹ This is to the effect that $\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is used for the name "Jesus" in NARRATIVE in the Third Gospel 14 or 15 times. It never appears in passages derived from Mark but its use is about evenly distributed between Q and L. Of the 7 instances in L (Lk. 7:13; 10:39, 41; 13:15; 18:6; 19:8; 22:31) and the 4 occurrences in material certainly from Q (Lk. 7:19; 19:1; 11:39; 12:42), it is relevant to our investigation to note that $\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ occurs in connection with the sending forth of the seventy (10:1) and twice in the story of Martha and Mary (10:39, 41). Likewise, in terms of personal address, although $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\iota\tau\alpha$ is peculiar to Luke in addressing Jesus, he has $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon$ 16 times, 14 of which appear in Q plus L material. Relevant uses of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon$ are in connection with the return of the seventy, who thus address Jesus (10:17) and the questions put by Martha to Jesus (10:40).

¹ B. H. Streeter, "The Four Gospels", p. 213

Hence, the attachment of Lk. 10:21a "In that same hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit" to the tradition narrating the mission of the seventy elders and their joyous return seems more probable than that Luke is here interpolating.

(3) "ἡγαλλίασατο" while a strong verb and used by Luke more than any other New Testament writer, is yet a familiar LXX form and is probably not original with Luke in this connection. The author of his source could well have embedded it because of its scriptural validity. More important than the relative frequency of the Lucan usage is the location of its appearance here. It seems significant that it occurs in the peculiarly Lucan material, which on other grounds is probably to be assigned to written sources; -i.e., Lk. 1:47; 10:21; Acts 2:26. Its only other appearance is in Acts 16:34. The same holds true for the 3 Lucan uses of ἀγαλλίασις. Where it occurs is more important than the fact that it is used (Lk. 1:14, 44; Acts 2:46; and only Jude 24; Heb. 1:9 in the N.T.).

In the light of the foregoing there is strong probability that 10:21a is derived from a written source containing material which Luke alone records. This source may be called either another version of Q or Proto-Luke.

The use of "the Holy Spirit" here seems to indicate a divinely inspired emotion of high exultation and exaltation. Although the Spirit of God was believed by the creators of the Christian tradition to be a permanent endowment and possession of Jesus, it is not inconsistent to suppose that it could assert and express itself impressively upon particular occasions. Just as in the wilderness experience Jesus was led by "the Holy Spirit" and emerged in the "power of the Spirit", so here the Holy Spirit is demonstrating its presence in the high exultation of Jesus. The fact that there is no similar record of a like experience in the ministry of Jesus argues for rather than against the reliability of this tradition, which was transmitted by Luke and not invented by him.

(5)

Lk. 11:13 "πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει πνεῦμα ἅγιον τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν."

"how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?"

Mt. 7:11 "how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?"

This reading is found in the earliest and best MSS ARC. It is important that Dtc have ἀγαθὸν δόμα; B^a f have δόματα ἀγαθόν; and L, πνεῦμα ἀγαθόν. This diversity indicates an evident attempt to reconcile the Lucan to the Matthean text. This verse has given considerable textual as well as interpretative difficulty.

The appeal from text to context will show with probability that "the Holy Spirit" has a source basis for its Lucan use here. Note how this context attaches directly to that presented under (4), page 107.

- Lk. 10:29-37 - The Good Samaritan
- 10:38-42 - Martha and Mary
- 11:1 - Disciples' Request
- 11:2-4 - The Lord's Prayer
- 11:5-8 - The Importunate Friend
- 11:9-13 - Entreaty in Prayer

A careful re-reading will convey the feeling that 11:1-13 are so intimately related that these verses constitute a single unit or block of material which has to do with the elements of prevailing prayer. Certainly 11:1 is a distinct request of the disciples for instruction in prayer upon a particular occasion when Jesus had finished praying - an incident which must have rested back upon a source basis for Luke. He alone records the incident. Here we note that the vocation Κύριε is used as an address for Jesus - a characteristic of L data. Jesus' response to the disciples upon this occasion is clearly a part of this same tradition. The oldest, best attested textual witnesses seem to have omitted the first three petitions of the Lord's Prayer, as we have it in its fuller form in Mt. 6:9-10. Likewise, only the vocative "Father" appears, "who art

in heaven" being omitted. Harnack is undoubtedly correct in saying,

"St. Matthew gives the prayer as it was meant to be and as, indeed, it was in usage daily; St. Luke gives it as an instruction in prayer, therefore, the present tense 'give'.¹

Jesus' response is direct, didactic, instructive as an answer to their request. We can understand the longer Matthean form only as a natural growth in the process of liturgical usage. It is unlikely that the fuller form should have been original and that Luke cut it down so drastically in revision.²

In place of the three omitted petitions beginning "hallowed be thy name" there is substituted

"ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς"

"Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us."

Both Harnack and Wellhausen connect this reading with the Marcionite text and regard it as original. The double tendency to assimilate the Lucan version of the prayer to the fuller and more liturgical Matthean; and the orthodoxy of the fathers, which would render improbable the acceptance of Marcion's text, help account for the conformity of the two versions. The acceptance of this reading strengthens the probability that the reading πνεῦμα ἅγιον in 11:13 is likewise to be accounted the earliest reading.

Attached to this prayer of instruction is Jesus' parable concerning the importunate friend (11:5-8), a bit of discourse which has no synoptic parallel and is clearly a part of the L tradition. This is followed by what appears to be Q material (11:9-13) but which differs sufficiently from Mt's corresponding discourse material to indicate either a different traditional source, L, or a different version of Q used by Lk here.

"And I say unto you" directly connects v.9 with v.8 as to speaker and discourse, and as a continuation of that piece of L teaching upon which the three commands to ask, seek, and knock are based. Furthermore, Luke gives

¹ A. Harnack, "Sayings of Jesus" p. 65

² "The widespread omission is quite intelligible, if the three clauses are genuine; the widespread insertion is quite intelligible, if they are not. The temptation to supply supposed deficiencies would be very strong; for the copyists would be familiar with the liturgical use of the longer form and would regard the abbreviation of such a prayer as intolerable" - (Plummer: Commentary on Luke, p. 294)

three illustrations of possible requests. In addition to Matthew's two, (a loaf, a fish) Luke gives, "If he shall ask an egg, will he give him a scorpion". This is inexplicable except on the assumption that it was contained in the source used by him, whether L or an expanded form of Q¹. The same written source which contains 11:12 would also contain 11:13 and put beyond reasonable doubt that "the Holy Spirit" has a source basis for its use here. Certainly this is more probable than to accept nastily Harnack's idea that Luke has a proclivity for the use of "Holy Spirit" and inserts it editorially upon suitable occasion.²

With this interpretation; - namely, that Lk. 11:1-13 constitutes a single unit of tradition - the acceptance of the petition, "Father, say Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us" not only increases the probability that 11:13 is embodied in this same source, but the double appearance of "the Holy Spirit" in 11:2, 13 gives point to the entire section. The gift of the Holy Spirit is the summum donum.

It is not incredible that this reflects a genuine saying of Jesus, who attributed to the Holy Spirit his personal equipment with power. If the essential features of the stories of endowment with the Holy Spirit during the experience of baptism, and the power of the Spirit present in and throughout the temptation experience were derived originally from Jesus himself, it is not improbable that he should here make the gift of the Holy Spirit the supreme object of prayer for his disciples. As viewed against the background of Old Testament prophecy and Messianic expectations, if Jesus possessed Messianic consciousness in connection with his experience of unusual spiritual endowment, it would be natural to

¹ A. Harnack, "Sayings of Jesus", p. 10 - "The Lukan variant to Mt. 7:9, 10 is problematical---Lk is perhaps influenced by a Greek proverb or here possessed another recension of Q."

² "A serious alteration in the sense is effected by St. Luke's substitution of πνεῦμα ἁγίου for ἁγιά; his preference for this conception is well known." (A. Harnack, *ibid.*, p. 10)

associate the gift of the Holy Spirit as a present possession with those who should represent the true Israel in the new Messianic era which some-
 now Jesus felt to be inaugurated by himself. This is all the more true if
 we suppose that Jesus conceived of the Messianic era in terms of spiritual
 adjustment and the right relationship of personal life and character to
 the will of God, the Father. So, when his disciples request instruction in
 prayer Jesus urges them to pray, "Father, may Thy Holy Spirit come upon us
 and cleanse us". Ask, seek, knock, for now much more certainly will God, your
 heavenly Father, give the Holy Spirit to those that ask him?"

Investigation of Lucan style and literary method, especially as it re-
 lates to the treatment of his sources Mk and G, indicates that no matter
 how frequently and freely he makes editorial changes of the text at his
 disposal, Lk is most free in his treatment of narrative material and least
 free in dealing with discourse material. Especially faithful is he when it
 comes to reporting the sayings of Jesus. We may accept this observation
 as a finding of scholars who have given particularly close attention to
 this problem: -

"The words of Jesus themselves, the verba ipsissima, whether re-
 peated by Mk or found in the sources designated as Q, have rarely
 been widened by the author of the Gospel to give them
 a wider scope or application. Although Lk 8:21 is considered as
 an exception, the isolation of this instance only makes the
 general faithfulness of Lk the more impressive."¹

Luke's deliberate effort to report faithfully the actual words of Jesus
 further strengthens the probability that here Luke is not making an edi-
 torial insertion or change but is reporting accurately the text contained
 in his written source.

(6)

Lk. 12:10 "Καὶ πᾶς ὃς ἔραϊ λόγον εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἄρε-
 θήσεται αὐτῷ· τῷ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημήσαντι
 οὐκ ἄρεθθήσεται.

"And every one that shall speak a word against the son
 of man, it shall be forgiven him; but unto him that blas-
 phemeth against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be
 forgiven him."

Mk. 3:29 "All their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, blas-
 phemy and their blasphemies; but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy
 Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal
 sin.

Mt. 12:31, 32 "Whosoever shall speak a word against the son of man, it
 shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall speak against the
 Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him."

¹ Cadbury, H. J. "The Style and Literary Method of Luke", p. 124

The first point to determine with respect to this verse, which is well-supported textually, is its relationship to Mk. 3:29 and Mt. 12:31, 32. The corresponding section in Mk and Mt. is connected with the incident wherein Jesus is charged with having cured the blind and dumb man (dumb man, Lk) by casting out the evil spirit through the power of Beelzebub, the prince of devils. But this saying in Lk 12:10 is a part of Jesus' instruction to his disciples concerning future warnings, fears, trust in God, and confession. There is no mention of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in Lk's account of the Beelzebub incident already given us in 11:14-26. This section will be considered presently as we attempt to account for Lk. 11:20, where it will be shown that while Mk and Mt (Q) preserve an account of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in connection with the Beelzebub incident, the source used by Luke did not contain it in this context. This saying from the Lucan source appears in its true context in 12:10. Matthew removes it from this context and introduces it at the conclusion¹ of the Beelzebub incident to conform with Mark.

What is of immediate importance is that regardless of the original arrangement and order of Q and the location of this verse therein, "Holy Spirit" clearly has a written source basis for Lucan use, since "Holy Spirit" appears in the parallel passage Mt. 12:32, Mk. 3:29. It is interesting to observe the forms in which the phrase appears. Mk. 3:29 has τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον which "indicates early Christian use in literary form". Mt. 12:32 likewise uses the article "κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου." Lk. 12:10 reads, "εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα", which leads to the suggestion that

"Luke may have changed Q in this passage, but the change¹ may be due to the other written form of the saying rather than to any linguistic preference of Luke."

As to the idea-content of "Holy Spirit" here, it would seem that the reference is to the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit of God expres-

¹ Cadbury, "Style and Literary Method of Luke", p. 204

sing itself in and through Jesus' works and life. The matter at issue is the attitude people are taking to the work of Jesus. The Peulzetat incident, wherein Jesus was slandered by the charge of collusion with the devil in the performance of his goodworks of healing, was already in the background. In these instructions to his disciples, Jesus is emphasizing that those who will deny, slander, and blaspheme what he is doing by ascribing his acts to the power of the devil, are really uttering blasphemy against God, or, more exactly, the Holy Spirit of God, through whose power these good works are made possible.

(7)

Lk. 12:12 "τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διδάσκει ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ᾧ ᾧ
δεῖ εἰπεῖν."

"for the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very
hour what ye ought to say"

Mk. 13:11 "whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak
ye; for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit."

Mt. 10:20 "for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your
Father that speaketh in you."

These verses are well attested textually. There are two written sources basic for this verse. It preserves one account which appears as a part of a section of discourse to which Lk. 21:14, 15 are related. These sayings concerning the future will be dealt with presently. The other source, represented by Lk, locates the form of the saying in a different context. Lk. 12:12 occurs in a section embodying some of Jesus' instructions and injunctions to his disciples for their future encouragement. Mt. 10:20 is clearly derived from the Marcan tradition, for the subject-matter of Mt. 10:17-22 is the same and follows exactly the same order as in Mk. 13:9-13. It is most probable that Luke's source contained "Holy Spirit", as 12:12 indicates. The early Marcan account, although placed in a different location, uses τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. It is characteristic of Mt to add "of your Father" to his mention of "the Spirit". Whether the form existed originally in Luke's source as τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα (Lk) or τὸ

πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (Μκ), we cannot be certain. These respective uses correspond exactly with the forms expressed in Lk. 12:10 and Mk. 3:29, where the judgment has been expressed that the Lucan change may be due to the written form of the saying preserved by Luke rather than to a change in the linguistic form in Mk. 3:29, which is grammatically correct and would have been so transmitted by Luke, had he been acquainted with this form at this point in his source. In any event, it is sufficient for our present purpose to observe that Luke's use of "Holy Spirit" here is not editorial but is carried over from the written source used by him - i.e. is say his version of Q.

The use of "Holy Spirit" here is in the Old Testament sense of inspiration but with a new meaning added. Here it is promised by Jesus not for prophetic purposes but for testimony. The Holy Spirit of God will be present with them to guide, teach, and counsel in times of future need. The association of this expression with the idea of the development of the Messianic kingdom seems clear. This utterance springs from the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, which we believe he possessed as a gradually growing experience. The Holy Spirit of God which rests upon and resides within him as the Messiah will, according to the Old Testament prophecies, also come upon and empower those of the true community of Israel. In this case, it will be present to meet their future needs as members of the Messianic community.

There are 4 instances of the Lucan use of "The Spirit" in the Third Gospel. They refer to the Spirit of God and are used synonymously with "Holy Spirit". Three of these four are considered here. (Lk. 2:27 is outside the limits of our present inquiry).

(8)

Lk. 4:1b "καὶ ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ..."

"And Jesus...was led by the Spirit in the wilderness"

Mk. 1:12 "The Spirit driveth him forth into the wilderness"

Mt. 4:1 "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil"

We have already indicated in our consideration of Lk. 4:1a that it is probable that 4:1-13 constitutes a smaller piece of non-Markan tradition contained in the larger block 3:1-4:30, one of the unifying elements of which is just this presence of a "Holy Spirit" tradition associated with the movements of Jesus, beginning with the promise of John the Herald. Jesus is invested with the Spirit at baptism; empowered by it, as the temptation story reveals; and equipped by the Spirit for his public ministry. This constant feature could hardly have been invented by Lk and inserted at this particular place. It disappears just at the place where Luke resumes his use of the Marcan source (4:31). In any event, there is at least a double source basis (written tradition) for his use of "the Spirit" here.

It connotes divine guidance and attendance with Jesus. 4:1 in its double mention of the Holy Spirit gives emphatic expression to the reality of the presence of the full powers of the Holy Spirit of God with Jesus in his testing wilderness experience.

(9)

Mk 4:14 "Καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν..."

"And Jesus" returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee"

While there is no parallel expression in Mk or Mt, we have seen that there is strong reason to believe that it was contained in the source which Luke is using here (cf. Comments on 4:1a, b). Although the characteristic ὑποστρέψαι occurs, it is still possible that Luke could have made literary and stylistic improvements without altering in any marked degree the essen-

tial character of the content of his tradition or weakening its reliability. It is characteristic of Luke that he makes many changes in the form of his source material but faithfully reproduces the content, especially discourses of Jesus and the order of events as he finds them arranged in his sources. So, here it is improbable that "in the power of the Spirit" is an editorial insertion. This victorious experience of Jesus is due to the enabling power which Jesus knew to be possession of the divine Spirit. "The Spirit" here designates the Holy Spirit of God, which is acclaimed the source of the tested power resident in Jesus. The self-consciousness of abiding possession of the divine equipping-power and of its directing influence are expressed in 4:14. As we have seen, these ideas are ~~found~~^{rooted} in O.T. religious thought and are here finding present realization in the personal religious experience of Jesus and the creation and development of his Messianic consciousness.

(10)

Lk. 4:18 "πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ"
"the Spirit of the Lord is upon me"

This verse is peculiar to the Lucan narrative as beginning Jesus' public ministry in his home town of Nazareth. It is a quotation from Isa 61:1,2, which prophecy, Jesus declares, finds present fulfillment in his person. Beyond reasonable doubt, this quotation is an integral part of the entire episode 4:16-30, which is clearly a piece of peculiarly Lucan material that must have been derived from the source at his disposal. We have already mentioned the continued presence of a Holy Spirit tradition associated with the movements of Jesus, which must be classed as a block of non-Markan material. The only significant contact this basic source might have with Q is that only here and in Mt. 4:13 is mention made that Jesus began his public ministry at Nazareth. Both gospels use "ἐκίχη", the only occurrences

of the word in the entire New Testament literature. It is difficult to understand why Mt failed to make use of so much of this Lucan material if it were contained in his Q. It is highly probable that Here Luke is either making use of an expanded version of Q¹ or L material which he may be uniting with his version of Q for the first time or is transmitting from his already combined Q-plus-L written source..

While it is perhaps true that Isa 61:1,2 are here freely reproduced from the LXX; that the clause "day of vengeance" is omitted; and the text so altered as to make it "in all respects a program for the ministry of Jesus" , it is not necessary to ascribe this proof-text to the editorial machinations of Luke. On the contrary, these verses are so inherent within the entire context of 3:1-4:30 that the very opposite seems most probable. "The Spirit" even in this quoted form and use has a written source basis for its Lucan usage here.

The idea-content of ~~the~~ "The Spirit" has already been indicated. The developing self-consciousness of ^{the} Spirit-filled and Spirit-led Jesus asserts itself here. In his own person is the prophecy fulfilled. He is conscious of being God's anointed one upon whom the Holy Spirit rested. The presence of the plenitude of the Holy Spirit and its power were a creative discovery and a tested reality for Jesus. The tendency to see our gospels and their underlying traditions about Jesus and the Holy Spirit as the highly colored Christian interpretations of the significance of his life and teachings and as the product of this later period causes us to deny to Jesus the right either to do any creative thinking for himself or to possess originality along the lines of his own self-consciousness, self-development, and self-expression. Certainly, if anywhere in our gospels, the ~~stories~~ describing Jesus' baptism and temptation must have been derived ultimately

¹ "Proto-Luke" of Streeter, V. Taylor, Easton, etc..

² A.B. Bruce, "The Gospel According to St. Luke", Commentary in loco., p.490

from Jesus himself as creative, revealing personal experiences, which narratives passed into the written forms underlying our present gospel records. This intimate association of the Holy Spirit of God with Jesus in these narratives can be accounted for only on the ground that here we see some indication of the prominent and significant part it had in the preparation and equipment of Jesus for his public ministry and his life work. The Holy Spirit is as much a part of the Jesus tradition in these narratives as the fact of Jesus himself, which made possible the preservation of the traditions concerning him in written form.

2. Luke's Non-Use of "The Holy Spirit"

If our study thus far has not afforded sufficient evidence to convince us that Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" is based upon his use of written sources containing the phrase, conviction should be established by the consideration of three instances in the synoptic narrative where Mk or Mt or both use "the Holy Spirit" and Lk does not follow them in this usage.

(1)

Lk. 11:20 "οἱ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια,
 ἅρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ."
 "Put is I by the finger of God cast out devils,
 then is the Kingdom of God come upon you."

These readings for Lk and Mt are well supported by the best MSS evidence. Codex N (Purpureus Petropolitanus, VI century) has an interesting reading which should be mentioned in view of the brilliant argument of Streeter that N belongs to the family of the Θ (Koroinethi) MSS, which is an excellent representative of the early and important Caesarean text - a form of text about midway between B and D.¹

¹ B.H. Streeter, "The Four Gospels" Chapter IV and Appendix II.

Streeter's important investigations should be continued for Lk. There is a good possibility that this early Caesarean (?) text would be of much value and assistance in discovering the character of the written sources behind our present Third Gospel.

N reads in Mt. 12: 28 (Lk. 11: 20) "ἐν δακτυλῷ οὐ". Another close representative of the family, S. (Vaticanus, X century) preserves the reading "ἐν ἄντ' οὐ." This ordinary reading requires space for five letters. The necessary space for this shorter reading is left in N but into this space have been inserted the letters "δακτυλῷ οὐ" in this arrangement:-

ΔΑΚΤΥΛῷ Οὐ

The first six letters are crowded. Οὐ is in full as are all sacred names.

H.S. Cronin has made a careful examination of this MS and says:-

"I maintain that the evidence points to the shorter reading ἄντ' οὐ as the reading of the exemplar and to the insertion in error from memory of δακτυλῷ οὐ under the influence of the parallel."¹

This may account for the strange reading for Mt. 12: 28 in N but it also testifies to the importance of the Lucan reading which preserves "finger of God".

On the basis of the preponderant evidence of the majority of the best MSS, we have in 11: 20 a plain case of Luke's non-use of "the Spirit". If Mt preserves the original text, it is significant that Luke changes it to avoid using "the Spirit". If Luke's text is original and Mt. changes "the finger of God" to "the Spirit of God"², Lk is faithful to his source which did not contain a reference to the Spirit. If Mt accurately reports his Q source and if Lk is using a different source, it still holds that while he is acquainted with Q he does not make use of "the Spirit" because his source does not contain it. If it were his habit to insert the phrase, due to editorial preference, it is difficult to understand why it does not appear here if either of his sources made use of "the Spirit", and why he uses instead "the finger of God".

(p. 14)

¹ H. S. Cronin, "Text of Codex N of the Gospels" (Texts & Studies, vol. 5, No. 4,

² "Mt changes 'the finger of God' to 'the spirit of God' to make a better connection with the paragraph on the blasphemy of the Spirit which (on authority of Mk) begins at Mt. 12: 31." See also H. S. Cronin, "The Redaction of Mt. 12" in Jour. Bib. Lit. vol. 46 (1927) p. 45)

The question of attempting to determine the Q text on the supposition that both Lk. 11:20 and Mt. 12:28 come from Q is one of probabilities. Applying the criterion that the more difficult reading is probably original, "the finger of God" must be given preference. Likewise, it is easier to assume the change from this unusual phrase to the more common Christian one "the Spirit" than to assume the opposite. Especially is this true if Luke has the widely assumed preference for the use of "the Holy Spirit" which impels its editorial insertion. The fact that Matthew follows his usual habit of conflating Q and Mk probably accounts for his use of "the Spirit", for it is Mark who preserves the account of blasphemy "against the Holy Spirit" in this connection, which would lead Matthew naturally to substitute "the Spirit of God" for "the finger of God". Of course, this assumes that both Mt. and Lk. are using the same Q. The most reasonable position seems to be that Lk. is using another version of Q which contains "the finger of God" and that he is transmitting his source with fidelity.

We have already seen that Lk. 12:10 is the proper location for the reference to blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in the source used by Lk. Mk records it in connection with the Beelzebul incident and Mt. clearly contains Mk and Q here, removing material in 12:32a, b from its proper location after 10:33 (in harmony with his tendency to group his material according to subject-matter), and placing it in the very midst of the Marcan account (Mt. 12:31, 32c). There is no mention of any blasphemy against the Holy Spirit contained in Lk's tradition of the Beelzebul incident, of which Lk 11:20 is a constituent part. It is significant that if Lk's use of "the finger of God" is original, it removes the only clear reference whereby the Holy Spirit is asserted to be the source for Jesus' miraculous power and mighty works.

(2)

- Lk. 20:42 "αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυεὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν"
 "For David himself saith in the book of psalms"
 Mk. 12:36 "αὐτὸς Δαυεὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ"
 "David himself said in the Holy Spirit"
 Mt. 22:43 "πῶς οὖν Δαυεὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ κύριον αὐτὸν λέγων"
 "How then doth David in the Spirit call him Lord saying,"

The text is well authenticated for Mk and Lk. Mt. 22:43 shows many textual variations, such as a different arrangement or order of the words, but the best MSS evidence is unanimously in support of ἐν πνεύματι.

This is the clearest case we shall have occasion to observe of the decided Lucan non-preference for the use of "Holy Spirit"; or, rather, of his fidelity in transmitting the source material before him which did not contain any reference to "the Holy Spirit". The Marcan tradition again preserves the literary form τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου (an indication of its occurrence in the earliest traditions). It is probably derived from Mk, since it is unlikely that Q contained any narrative of the Passion. Lk is either making a deliberate change of his source material or is following some other source which had no reference to the Spirit. It is informing to note how Luke in Chapter 20 seems to follow first Mark and then some other source containing material somewhat similar to that presented in Mt but which cannot be classified as Q.¹

(3)

- Lk. 21:15 "ἐγὼ γὰρ δώσω ὑμῖν στόμα καὶ σοφίαν, ἣ οὐ συνήσονται
 ἀντιστῆναι ἢ ἀντιπεῖν ἅπαντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι ὑμῖν."
 "For I will give you a mouth, and wisdom, which will speak for you
 and shall not be able to withstand or to gainsay"
 Mk. 13:11 "but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that
 speak ye; for it is not ye that speak but the Holy Spirit"
 Mt. 10:20 "For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father
 that speaketh in you"

Except for some variants in the word order, in Lk this verse is well attested textually.

¹ "The absence in the Passion story of any substantial agreement of Mt and Lk against Mk, in the view of most scholars, compels us to conclude that Q contained no account of the Passion". (B.H. Streeter: "The Four Gospels", p. 292)

While Mk 13:11 is often set beside Lk 12:12 and Mt 10:20 as parallel, we have observed that the Marcan tradition locates the saying in the discourse concerning future events contained in the 13th chapter. Lk 12:12 (Mt. 10:20) included it among some words of encouragement addressed by Jesus to the disciples in the presence of the surging crowds. This is an earlier and entirely different occasion (cf. Comments on Lk 12:12). This tradition of location is probably correct, especially since Lk 21:15 is a completely different saying in a context suited to that in which Mk. 13:11 appears. A critical reading of Lk 21 besides Mk and Mt indicates that Lk is using a source which is different from that used by either Mk or Mt. As a single example, Lk makes no mention of "the gospel must first be preached to all the nations" (Mk 13:10; Mt. 24:14). While the argument from silence is always a precarious one, yet in this instance it is reasonable to ask, Would Lk have omitted this detail had either the Marcan or the Matthean sources been before him?¹

In any case it is clear that Luke was acquainted with Mark 13:11 and its use of "the Holy Spirit" and that he did not choose to follow it here, because he prefers a different source wherein there is no mention of the Holy Spirit. If Mt. 10:20 is derived from Q rather than Mk, the indication is still stronger that Lk has no special preference for the use of "the Holy Spirit" but uses it only when it is contained in the source which he elects to follow. In this instance his source did not contain the phrase; hence, he does not introduce it.

#

We have observed, on the basis of the external evidence, presented by comparing relevant sections of Mk and Mt with our "Holy Spirit" references in the Third Gospel; and the internal evidence supplied by the Lucan style

¹ A very careful investigation, which posits a special source for the Passion narrative as it is recorded in the third Gospel (Lk. 19:28-24:53) is that of A. A. Perry, "The Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative" (cf. Bibliography)

and idea-content, that there is clear evidence of a written source basis for Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel. Our findings may be presented succinctly in the form of this exhibition chart followed by a statement of observations and findings.

<u>Luke's Use of "The Holy Spirit"</u>			
POSSIBLE SOURCE	NARRATIVE SAYING	REFERENCES LUKE	RELEVANT PASSAGES
L		1:35*	Mt. 1:18, 20
Q	S	3:16	Mk. 1:8; Mt. 3:11
Q	N	8:22	Mk. 1:10; Mt. 3:16
Q	N	4:1	
Q or L?	N	10:21	(Mt. 11:25)
(Q?)	(S)	(11:2)	
Q	S	11:13	(Mt. 7:11)
Q	S	12:10	Mk. 3:28, 29; Mt. 12:31, 32
Q	S	12:12	Mk. 13:11; Mt. 10:20
<u>"The Spirit" (Spirit of God)</u>			
Q	N	4:1	Mk. 1:12; Mt. 4:1
Q	N	4:14	
Q	N	4:18	
<u>Non-Use of "the Holy Spirit"</u>			
Q?	S	11:20	Mt. 12:28
L	S	20:42	Mk. 12:36; Mt. 22:43
L	S	21:15	Mk. 13:11; Mt. 10:20

* We have omitted here the mention of Lk. 1:15, 41, 67; 2:25, 26, 27; since these references are contained in the Birth-Stories, which will be considered later.

1:35 is mentioned to indicate that while Mt and Lk preserve independent traditions, the Matthean account preserves reference to a Holy Spirit tradition in connection with the birth of Jesus. Hence, the idea advanced in Lk. 1:35 is not original with him.

3. OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS

The following observations are important and significant:-

(1) Mark, one of the earliest of documentary sources for the gospel tradition, makes use of "the Holy Spirit" 4 times in sayings of Jesus and uses "the Spirit" twice in narrative concerning him.

(2) Mark preserves the correct literary form τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

(3) A Holy Spirit tradition in written form is existent prior to the writing of the Third Gospel.

(4) Luke's Holy Spirit references appear in non-Markan sections and are derived from non-Markan sources.

(5) Luke is making use of another and different version of Q from that used by Matthew.

(6) "The Holy Spirit" occurs in both narrative and discourse material in this recension of Q.

(7) "The Holy Spirit" is one of the characteristics of this Q and is

the dominating feature in Lk. 3:1-4:30, rendering the entire section homogeneous.

(8) Whereas Mk. 12:36 (Mt. 22:43) and Mk. 13:36 (Mt. 10:20) record the early tradition and use "the Holy Spirit", Luke substitutes some other saying taken from the source which he prefers to Mark in recording the Passion narrative.

(9) Both of these are sayings of Jesus, which Luke is always most careful to transmit as accurately as possible.

(10) Mt. 12:28 uses "the Spirit" but this is not found in Lk. 11:20.

(11) In not a single instance is there evidence of mere editorial interpolation on the part of Luke.

The fact we desire to emphasize, and which we believe to be soundly established, is that there is a secure source basis for the Lucan use of "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel. Such usage is not due to any predilection or particular fondness for the idea on the part of Luke. It is clear that Luke uses "the Holy Spirit" only when it occurs in the written source from which he drew his transmitted material. He used it when his source used it and did not introduce it when there was no mention of "the Holy Spirit" in his source material.

The phenomenon of the frequent occurrence of "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel would not so readily have been attributed to editorial insertion had not the idea got away to a flying start by the 7 instances in Lk. 1 and 2. Our comparative investigation thus far indicates a closer fidelity to his sources in this regard than we have heretofore accorded Luke.

While consideration of Lk. 1 and 2 is held in abeyance until we complete our study of the Lucan use of "the Holy Spirit" in Acts and then turn to inquire the bearing of our findings upon the problem of Luke's source material, we shall approach our investigation of these first two chapters of the gospel with the feeling that there is a strong probability in favor of derivation from a written source used by Luke to account for the frequent appearance of "the Holy Spirit" in Lk. 1 and 2.

4. SUMMARY STATEMENT OF "THE HOLY SPIRIT" TRADITION IN THE THIRD GOSPEL

A concluding paragraph should summarize the Holy Spirit tradition as it appears in Luke's Gospel in order that the synoptic picture may be rounded out. We have noted that while the promise of the gift of the Holy Spirit is extended to the disciples as a future possession, to guide, instruct, and encourage them, the Holy Spirit as a present possession is found only in narratives and discourse centering about the experience of Jesus. John the Herald revived the old prophetic expectations of an outpouring of the Holy Spirit of God upon the righteous community through the person of the Messiah, when the new era begins (and it was just at hand). He united the ideas concerning the Holy Spirit with those concerning the Messiah and quickened these lively expectations and hopes (3:15). Lk 3:22 intimates something of the profound, religious experience of Jesus, where in connection with the event of his baptism, he is deeply conscious that the Holy Spirit of God is a present possession with him as a divinely bestowed gift. The two references contained in 4:1 and 4:14 indicate again how intimately in the self-consciousness of Jesus are the presence, the enabling power, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit associated with another of his life-stirring, critical experiences - the temptation. The expanding self-consciousness of the Spirit-filled, Spirit-empowered, and Spirit-equipped Jesus asserts itself in the synagogue at Nazareth when he declares in his first reputed saying concerning the Holy Spirit that the prophecy of Isa 61:1 is fulfilled in his own person. The important influence and operation of the Spirit in connection with the preparation and equipment of Jesus for his public ministry and lifework, which constitute Lk 3:1-4:30

a single and significant unit of tradition concerning Jesus, cannot be attributed in the first instance to the post-resurrection¹ reflection of believing disciples who were convinced of the Messianism of the exalted Jesus and read back into these epochmaking events in the life of Jesus the activities of the Holy Spirit of God which must have been present with him at the outset of his public ministry. The direction and order are not: Begin with the experience of the disciples and work back to Jesus; but, rather, begin with the experience of Jesus as communicated by him to his disciples. The illustrative attempt to describe the significance and reality of these experiences must ultimately have come from Jesus himself and been told by him to his disciples. It is only reasonable to suppose that the identification of the Holy Spirit with these experiences described^b must have been narrated during Jesus' earthly ministry and life, if these events have any connection at all with the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit of God. The return of the seventy disciples was another occasion for an experience of high emotional exaltation, religious exaltation, and self-revelation in the person of Jesus. This is attributed to the power of the Holy Spirit within him (10:21).

The gift of the Holy Spirit as efficacious for ethical renewal should be the supreme object of earnest prayer, suggests Jesus to his disciples in response to their request for instruction in prayer- "Father, Thy spirit come upon us and cleanse us" (11:2-Marcion). As we have had occasion to see, if Jesus' awareness of his own tremendous spiritual endowment fostered any degree of Messianic self-consciousness, against the background of the O.T. idea of the Spirit and the Messianic expectations the gift of the Holy Spirit as a present possession of the members of the Messianic community would be a normal expectancy in the present Messianic era which Jesus felt that somehow he was himself inaugurating. The presence of this gift would manifest it-

self in its ethical results, for it would effect moral renewal. Jesus encourages his disciples to realize this objective as he points their hopes to the certainty that God will so gift them with His enabling power of the Holy Spirit through earnest, persistent prayer, (11:13). Must he not have known the certainty of such answer to prayer in his own experience of God who supplied through the presence of the Holy Spirit those enabling spiritual resources which renewed, refreshed, maintained, and sustained at a high level the moral powers of Jesus himself?

In Jesus' instructions and injunctions to his friends and followers, given for their encouragement and future conduct, Jesus warns against the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (12:10), which he evidently construes in terms of personal attitude toward him and that for which he stands. Here is the expression of a high degree of self-consciousness. Jesus himself is so obedient and responsive to the inspirations and motivations of God's Holy Spirit that he can declare that the attitude taken toward him and his works is the attitude taken toward the Holy Spirit of God. Those who deny or slander what he is doing are in reality taking the same attitude toward God, whose representative he is, or, more literally, the Holy Spirit of God through whose power Jesus is conscious that his life, ministry, and good works are made possible. The promise to the disciples in 12:12 is the assurance that the Holy Spirit will be their ally and present helper and instructor for the critical needs of the future, when as loyal disciples in furthering the interests of the Messianic kingdom they will find themselves in trying situations.

The Third Gospel indicates clearly that Jesus' "life in the Spirit" was a present, empowering reality, ^{and} the basis of a developing Messianic consciousness which not only led Jesus forward into the experience that the C.T.

prophecies and the sacred scriptures had been fulfilled in his person and that beneath the divine leading he was inaugurating the new era, but also increased his expectancies, as well as those of his disciples, that the prophecies and scripture would likewise be fulfilled in them.

A splendid summary paragraph of the place of Jesus in the synoptic idea of the Spirit is given by Büchsel at the conclusion of an able and appreciative chapter on Jesus' possession of the Spirit and his ideas of the Spirit:¹

" Jesus possesses a two-fold significance for the historical development of the conception as well as the experience of the Spirit. In the first place, Jesus laid the foundation for the thought that a community would arise which would see fulfilled in itself the promise of the Spirit held forth by the prophets of old in connection with the last days. We may not say that Jesus created the community of the "Pneumatiker", for in his own lifetime his disciples neither constituted a community by themselves nor a community of those possessed with the Spirit. But Jesus' efficacy as Messiah is the foundation upon which the community of "pneumatists" built. Because Jesus' disciples believed that the promise of the sacred scriptures had begun to be fulfilled in him, they believed that it would be further fulfilled in themselves as the community or company of Christ. Jesus had awakened the faith which formed the presupposition for the reception of the Spirit by his disciples.

" Further: Jesus had lived out in the presence of his disciples a unique and a new type of "life in the Spirit". Such a highly exalted self-consciousness of spiritual possession as that of Jesus, combined with his utter unselfishness expressed through humility and love, was something entirely new. This expressed itself in such a clear-cut and evident manner that it impressed itself upon the disciples of Jesus and finally became effectual for their own pneumatic living.....

" The Christian community had received the Spirit of God as the Spirit of Jesus Christ, as the Spirit of his Son. This formula had a deep inner justification. It brought to expression the conviction that now the members of the Christian community were the possessors of the Holy Spirit because Jesus himself had been in possession of the Holy Spirit, and through his efficacy had laid the foundation for the pneumatic character of their religious life, and that they were to be possessors of the Spirit after the manner in which Jesus had been, for the Spirit of God had revealed itself in him in a new way."

¹ Büchsel, D. F. "Der Geist Gottes in N.T.", s. 227. (cf. pp 202-227 for admirable development of the relation between Jesus and the Holy Spirit)

III. THE USE OF "THE HOLY SPIRIT" IN THE BOOK OF ACTS.

The unusual frequency of the use of "the Holy Spirit" in Acts is generally recognized and readily verified by even a cursory reading. Therein occur 42 instances of "the Holy Spirit" and 12 references to "the Spirit" to indicate the Spirit of God. We may reasonably expect, as a natural result of the larger amount of material and data available for investigation, that much light will be thrown upon the character of Luke's source material, if it can be demonstrated that a definite, historically valid, well-grounded Holy Spirit tradition was existent and that Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" represents his faithful transmission from written source material embodying this tradition. We shall hope to establish a written source basis by showing that Luke had no particular, personal interest in "the Holy Spirit" as such but only used it in the process of faithful transmission of both the form and the idea-content as they appeared in the sources at his disposal and from which he drew his data.

The Book of Acts is the only literary record we have of the life of the early Christian believers and the primitive Christian church, following the death of Jesus. Consequently, it is not possible to arrive at any conclusions through the search for external evidence. We can make no profitable comparative study of different traditions or call to witness either contemporary Christian or non-Christian writers or literary products, because there are none which inform us concerning the operation and activity of "the Holy Spirit" or bear witness to the existence of such a tradition for the period of primitive Christianity, outside the writings of Paul. At the proper time the Lucan and Pauline traditions will be comparatively considered. While the paucity of material might seem to discount the historical value and reliability of that which Luke presents

concerning the Holy Spirit in Acts, the matter is one which cannot be dismissed summarily. There is sufficient internal evidence available to lead to important discoveries. This we shall attempt to expose, considering literary style, the relation of text to context, idea-content, etc. This investigation will uncover certain facts concerning Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" which can then be tested by the ideas of the Spirit and the historical development of the tradition as these occur in other Christian literature, especially the Old Testament, the Synoptic Gospels, and Paul's writings.

In order to present available data in the most compact form, all references to "the Holy Spirit" in Acts are listed in order of appearance.

References to "the Holy Spirit"

1. 1:2 "Until the day he was received up after that he had given commandment through the Holy Spirit"
2. 1:5 "Ye shall be baptized with Holy Spirit not many days hence"
3. 1:8 "Ye shall receive power when the Holy Spirit is come upon you and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem and in all Judaea and Samaria, and into the uttermost part of the earth"
4. 1:16 "It was needful that the scripture should be fulfilled which the Holy Spirit spake before by the mouth of David"
5. 2:4 "They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance"
6. 2:33 "Being therefore by the right hand of God exalted and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he hath poured forth this which ye see and hear."
7. 2:38 "Repent ye and be baptised everyone of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of sins and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit"
8. 4:8 "Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said"
9. 4:25 "The Lord...who by the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of David"
10. 4:31 "When they had prayed, the place was shaken, wherein they were gathered together and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit"
11. 5:3 "Why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the Holy Spirit?"
12. 5:32 "We are witnesses...and the Holy Spirit whom God hath given"
13. 6:5 "A man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit"
14. 7:51 "Ye do always resist the Holy Spirit"
15. 7:55 "He, being full of the Holy Spirit"
16. 8:15 "That they might receive the Holy Spirit"
17. 8:17 "They laid their hands upon them and they received the Holy Spirit"
18. 8:18 "When Simon saw that through the laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Spirit was given"
19. 8:19 "That of whomsoever I lay my hands, he may receive the Holy Spirit"
20. 9:17 "That thou mayest receive thy sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit"
21. 9:31 "So the church throughout all Judaea and Galilee and Samaria had peace, being edified and walking in the fear of the Lord and the comfort of the Holy Spirit, was multiplied"
22. 10:38 "Jesus of Nazareth, has God anointed him with the Holy Spirit"
23. 10:44 "While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Spirit fell on all them that heard these words"
24. 10:45 "Because on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Spirit"

"Holy Spirit" references in Acts (con.)

Acts

25. 10:47 "Who have received the Holy Spirit as well as we?"
 26. 11:15 "The Holy Spirit fell on them"
 27. 11:16 "Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit"
 28. 11:24 "He was a good man and full of the Holy Spirit and faith"
 29. 13:2 "The Holy Spirit said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul"
 30. 13:4 "They, being sent forth by the Holy Spirit"
 31. 13:9 "Saul...filled with the Holy Spirit"
 32. 13:52 "And the disciples were filled with joy and the Holy Spirit"
 33. 15:9 "Giving them the Holy Spirit"
 34. 15:28 "For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us"
 35. 16:6 "Having been forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word"
 36. 19:2 "Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed?"
 37. 19:6 "When Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came"
 38. 20:28 "The Holy Spirit testifieth unto me"
 39. 20:28 "In which the Holy Spirit hath made you bishops"
 40. 21:11 "Thus saith the Holy Spirit"
 41. 28:25 "Well spake the Holy Spirit through Isaiah"
 42. 19:2 "No, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Spirit was given"

References to "The Spirit" (Spirit of God)

43. 2:17 "I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh"
 44. 2:18 "On my servants and handmaids in those days will I pour forth of my Spirit"
 45. 5:9 "How is it that you have agreed together to try the Spirit of the Lord?"
 46. 6:3 "Seven men of good report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom"
 47. 6:10 "They were not able to withstand the wisdom and the Spirit"
 48. 8:29 "And the Spirit said unto Peter"
 49. 8:39 "The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip"
 50. 10:19 "While Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said unto him"
 51. 11:12 "The Spirit bade me to with them, making no distinction"
 52. 11:28 "There stood up one of them named Agabus and signified by the Spirit that there should be a great famine"
 53. 16:7 "And the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not"
 54. 21:4 "These said to Paul through the Spirit"

1. The Use of "the Holy Spirit"

We now proceed to a brief consideration of only those necessary factors in each case which will assist the progress of our investigation¹.

(1)

Acts 1:2 "ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀντετάλαμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου οὗς ἐξελέξατο ἀνελήλυθον."
 "until the day in which he was received up, after that he had given commandment through the Holy Spirit unto the apostles whom he had chosen:"

This verse presents many divergent MSS readings.

The Bezan text, D, adds "and ordered to proclaim the gospel".

¹ "The earliest source was the Greek text of the New Testament, which is followed generally. The printed commentaries on the New Testament and the Acts of the Apostles have drawn upon the text of Acts for our basic textual data."

This fact of diverse readings among our earliest and best MSS illustrated how the influences of theology and Christological thought were already impressing themselves upon our written documents in the form of additions and subtractions. For the present it is sufficient to note that all the MSS contain πνεύματι ἁγίῳ without variation - a clear proof that it was an integral part of the earliest written traditions.

The reference connects the Acts with the Gospel of Luke and suggests Jesus' selection of the twelve (Lk 6:10) who were to represent him, which selection and commission are attributed to the divine guidance of the Holy Spirit. These opening verses are introductory and evidently the free composition of the author. There is no direct of a written source basis for his use of the Holy Spirit here. Indirectly, his use reflects the use of such a source, as we shall see. The dominant place of the Holy Spirit tradition therein makes it natural that he should reflect its importance in his opening words. But more likely still, he refers indirectly here to his gospel source which contained the Holy Spirit tradition in reference to Jesus. At any rate, Luke is referring to the divine leading and the purposes of that past history when Jesus made choice of the twelve, as well as the general presence and activities of the Holy Spirit in connection with the earthly life and ministry of Jesus. The idea here is not peculiar to Luke.

(2)

Acts 1:5 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι βαπτισθήσεσθε ἁγίῳ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας."

"But ye shall be baptized in the Holy Spirit not many days hence."

D reads "ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit and which ye are about to receive after these not many days until the Pentecost".

The MSS show a variation in word-order; but all attest the use of "Holy Spirit". Acts 11:16 quotes this verse as a "word of the Lord". The reference goes back to the preaching of John the Herald in Lk 3:16 which indicates

that the baptism with the Holy Spirit is a sign and function of the Messiah. But now the exalted and risen Christ, meeting with his disciples upon some occasion, charges them to wait in Jerusalem where they shall receive the Messianic baptism or investment with the Holy Spirit in a few days. This command to wait for the promise of the Father connects Acts 1 with Lk. 24:49f before mention is made there of the ascension.

While this appears to be an "a posteriori" tradition based upon the religious experience of the day of Pentecost, it may also be an inherent part of the resurrection experiences and appearances which underlie the narrative here. In its present location and intent, this is a very definite part of that pre-Pentecostal tradition which Luke is not inventing but is commencing to transmit. From the living, risen Christ comes the promise and assurance to the disciples of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the very near future. This conviction is embodied in the tradition which Luke is transmitting.

(3)

Acts 1:8 "ἀλλὰ λήψετε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔσσεσθε μου μάρτυρες ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρίᾳ καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς."

"Ye shall receive power when the Holy Spirit is come upon you and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria and unto the uttermost part of the earth".

Immediately before the ascension and evidently upon another occasion, the essential disciples receive reiterated assurance that they will be invested with the power of the Holy Spirit of God. Not only do they receive assurance that the divine promise will be fulfilled, but also they receive a commission and instructions how the divine power is to be used. The Spirit-filled disciples are to represent the Christ, carry on the work begun by him, and be witnesses in Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, and to the very ends of the civilized world (for the, probably the Roman Empire).

Luke uses this form "τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα" in Acts 2:38; 4:31; 9:31; 13:4; 16:6 to indicate a variety of ways in which the Holy Spirit operates and expresses itself in action.

Although this verse is often said to represent Luke's conscious purpose for writing Acts and is the blueprint he follows in constructing his historical narrative of the expansion of Christianity, it is altogether probable that the early Christian Church tradition of its own growth may have been along these same lines and that Luke is reporting this tradition from written source data.

(4)

Acts 1:16 "ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ἣν προσεῖπε
τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ στόματος Δαβὶδ"
"It was needful that the scripture should be fulfilled
which the Holy Spirit spoke before by the mouth of David"

Luke frequently uses this correct literary form τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (Acts 2:33; 5:5, 12; 7:55; 10:44, 45, 47; 11:15; 13:2; 15:2, 28; 19:2; 20:25, 28; 21:11; 28:25). Here there is no thought of the Holy Spirit as hypostatic, although the language implies personification. The usage here is religious and practical not speculative and metaphysical. "The Holy Spirit" is used and understood as a reverent synonym for God as active and operative in and through human life. God's activity through the Spirit manifests itself in a great variety of ways as this and other passages indicate. The Holy Spirit speaking through the mouth of David is the Spirit of God inspiring utterance, — an ancient and thoroughly Hebrew conception.

(5)

Acts 2:4 "καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ
ἤρξαντο λαλεῖν ἑτέραις γλώσσαις καθὼς τὸ
πνεῦμα ἐδίδου ἀποφθέγγεσθαι αὐτοῖς"
"And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to
speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance"

In the midst of a much confused and evidently corrupt text, MSS B and D preserve πνεύματος ἁγίου and τὸ πνεῦμα. We are to note that in 2:1

B has a smooth text while D has "and it came to pass in those days of the fulfilment of the Day of Pentecost", which is a literal translation from the Aramaic. Also, B omits εἰδοῦ (behold) which is contained in D.

To be "filled with the Holy Spirit" is a frequent Lucan expression both in the Gospel and Acts (Acts 1: 3, 31; 9: 17; 13: 9, 52; Lk. 1: 15, 41, 67). The limitation of this use to the first half of Acts and the first chapter of the Gospel is striking and in all probability, as will be shown later, suggests a real source basis for such usage.

The idea-content is an attempt to describe the reality of the profound religious experience of dynamic, spiritual power on the day of Pentecost in which the ancient Messianic prophecy, recently reassured by the exalted Christ, was fulfilled in these Christian disciples. Now occurred the outpouring of the Spirit of God upon men. The present power of the divine Spirit which "filled" them expressed itself in ecstatic speech, which demonstrated visibly and impressively the gift of the Spirit. These accompaniments were stimulated by God's empowering Spirit.¹

(c)

Acts 2: 33 "τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξέχεεν τοῦτο ὃ ὑμεῖς βλέπετε καὶ ἀκούετε."

"Being, therefore, by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he hath poured forth this, which ye see and hear."

This expression of primitive Christology is important for the intimate relation it suggests between the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ. Whereas the disciples are witnesses of the resurrection of Jesus, who thereby was exalted by means of God's power, the crowd of observers and listeners are witnesses to the phenomena of speaking with tongues and the ac-

¹ "The Spirit was manifested primarily in the ἀποφθέγγεσθαι (only 2: 14; 28: 25 in the N.T.) consisting of "glossolally", rather the ecstatic, uncontrolled utterance of the primitive form of the tradition than foreign languages (which ἐξέφαιτο here and 5: 18 apparently imply), rendered by the κοινή, the Greek of commerce and every-day life in Mediterranean lands, an unnecessary acquisition". (Winstanley, "The Spirit in the N.T. p. 32)

accompanying physical manifestations which mark the presence of the Holy Spirit. Jesus, the exalted Christ, receiving the promise of God, the Father, is the responsible agent for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples. This is in accord with familiar Jewish Messianic thought and indicates how the primitive Christians are interpreting the significance of Jesus in terms of their ancient, inherited Messianic ideas and expectations. That which is "seen and heard" is regarded as demonstrating the fulfilment of God's promise of the Spirit to Jesus, who as Messiah not only possesses it but is to pour it out upon his people (as we saw from Psa. Sol. 17:42; 18:8; Test. Levi 18; Judah 24)

(7)

Acts 2:38 "καὶ ἄρψετε τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος"
 "And ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit"

This verse contains textual variations which are largely due to the influence of theological ideas:—MS B "be baptized ἐν the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins and you shall receive the gift of the holy Spirit"; D and the Antiochian texts read, "be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ unto the remission of sins" etc. ECD read ἐν the name; Sinaiticus, L, 81, Int. P3 read ἐνί the name. D and the Ant. texts conform to the solemn formula found in the gospels (Mt. 28:28; Mk. 1:4; Lk. 3:3). However, τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος is read in all MSS.

While Luke makes mention of the δωρεάν of the πνεύματος ἁγίου, (5:32; 8:20; 10:45; 15:8) and not χάρισμα (1 Cor. 12:4, 9, 28), there is no intention to distinguish between the Holy Spirit as a special charismatic gift repeated upon occasions, and the permanent, abiding gift of the Holy Spirit, as these references in Acts will make clear. This verse defines repentance and baptism as necessary conditions and prerequisites for the gift of the Holy Spirit.

(8)

Acts 4:8 "τότε Πέτρος πληρούμενος πνεύματος ἁγίου εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς"
 "then Peter filled with the Holy Spirit, said unto them"

Πληρούμενος πνεύματος ἁγίου recalls Lk. 12:12, where Jesus promises his disciples that when they shall be brought before rulers and authorities, the Holy Spirit will instruct them what to say; also, Lk. 21:14, "I will give you a mouth and wisdom". Peter's courageous speech in defence of the Gospel is the outward demonstration of the presence and power of the Spirit within him. Here the occasional, special character of the gift of the Spirit is emphasized; evidently, it is not an abiding, permanent possession.

(9)

Acts 4:26 "ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυιδ"
 "and, by the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of our father, David"

Although the text shows early corruption and is uncertain, the constant reading of BA (Athenasius) is to be preferred and is given here. D, while excluding τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν preserves διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Torrey sees in this verse a clear indication of an Aramaic original.

That evidently is intended is the familiar idea, often expressed, of the inspiration to prophetic utterance.

(10)

Acts 4:31 "καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ ἐλάλουν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ καρρησίας."
 "and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and they spake the word of God with boldness."

In answer to their prayer, the disciples are "filled with the Holy Spirit" and empowered to testify with courage and boldness. Apparently an earthquake accompanies this spiritual outpouring. Again, the gift is occasional. As in 2:4 it is a group experience but here is no evidence of speaking with tongues or ecstatic speech. Winstanley calls this verse

"a statutory rite, telling of the presence of Luke's being accompanied or followed by external and ecstatic manifestations. W"

Harnack regards this as the original experience of the outpouring of the Spirit.

¹ Winstanley, *ibid.*, p. 34

(11)

Acts 5:3 "διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ Σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου
ψεύσασθαί σε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον"

"Why hath Satan filled your heart to lie to the Holy Spirit?"

From the practical viewpoint the Holy Spirit may be conceived as personal here but not in a metaphysical sense. Peter is giving expression not to speculative thought but is speaking religiously. It is not that Ananias has lied to Peter but in and through him the Holy Spirit of God is present and operative; hence, Ananias has lied to the Spirit and thus to God. Nor is it likely that the lie is directed against the Holy Spirit through the offense to the Church as the repository of truth and of the divine Spirit. Here Peter is expressing the consciousness of the primitive Christian community of direct dependence upon and wholehearted response and obedience to the inspiration, guidance, and counsel of the Holy Spirit. This deceitful attitude on the part of Ananias is prompted not by the Spirit of God but by Satan.

(12)

Acts 5:32 "καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς
τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ."

"and so is the Holy Spirit (a witness), whom God hath given to them that obey him."

Peter, bearing personal testimony of the actual witness of the reality and truth of the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus, declares also that the Holy Spirit always serves as a witness. Its recurrent presence and activities are well known (5:3; 2:33). The gift of the Holy Spirit is conditioned by obedience to God.

(13)

Acts 6:5 "...Στέφανον, ἄνδρα πλήρη πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου"
"Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit"

The reading is supported by all the MSS. Hereafter we shall call attention to the textual witnesses only in case there is an important variant

or diverse reading.

It is singular to come suddenly upon the combination "full of the Spirit and of wisdom"(6:3); "full of faith and of the Holy Spirit"(6:5); "the wisdom and the Spirit"(6:10); [cf. 11:24]. The Spirit here is correlated with the more permanent elements of personal character. Faith apparently refers to high religious faith. Does this register a development in thought from the Spirit as a temporary, special, occasional gift toward the idea of permanent endowment? Some see here a trace of Pauline influence upon Luke's religious phraseology.¹ But this is neither a frequent nor a consistently maintained Lucan usage. It is pertinent to inquire if this might reflect a growing tendency away from the conception of the abnormal, extraordinary, external manifestations of the Spirit.

(14)

Acts 7:51 "ὅμοις ἀεὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀντιπνίγετε"
"ye do always resist the Holy Spirit"

This charge is apparently a quotation from memory of Isa. 63:10, and recalls also Num. 27:14, where Israel is striving against God. But this past resistance against the guiding Spirit of God operative in and through the nation's leaders, is repeated in the new and present attitude of rebellion on the part of Stephen's hearers. The Holy Spirit of God has been at work since the Messianic outpouring on Pentecost and yet they deny the Holy Spirit in the present and are guilty of blasphemy against the Spirit of God (Lk. 12:10).

(15)

Acts 7:55 "ὕπαρχον δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἀτενίσας
εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν..."

"but he, being full of the Holy Spirit, looked up into heaven"

MSS ABCD81 present our usual reading. Codex Sinaiticus has πλήρης πίστεως

¹

see E. F. Wood, "The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature", p. 188

καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου. ἔλαβον δὲ οὗτοί τε τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον.¹

If the suggestion of a permanent endowment and possession of the Holy Spirit is implied in this, clearly this revealing experience and utterance of Stephen attest the presence of a special inspiration upon this particular occasion.

(15)

Acts 8:17 "οἱ τινες καταβάντες προσεκύνησαν κατὰ αὐτῶν
ὅπως λάβωσιν πνεῦμα ἅγιον."¹

"And, when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Spirit"

As a result of Philip's preaching we have here the instance of Christians believers in Samaria, who have sealed their faith by baptism and yet have not received the gift of the Holy Spirit, as 2:38 implies should have followed. Neither were they invested with the Holy Spirit when they received the word, as in 10:44. The invocation of prayer and its efficacy in 4:24¹ and here suggest Lk. 11:2 (Western reading, B) and Lk. 11:13 - "how much more will your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him!" as we have observed, "to receive" the Holy Spirit is another characteristic of Luke's "Holy Spirit" case.

(16)

Acts 8:17 "τότε ἐστρέψαν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτούς,
καὶ ἐλάβον τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον."

"Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Spirit."

The use of the imperfect tense signifies the continuance of the demonstrations which manifest the possession of the Holy Spirit. If we accept the grammatical construction strictly, these Samaritans "began to receive" the Spirit, which refers, perhaps, to some such series of external phenomena as in 10:44-46. Nothing is said here of glossolalia.

The Spirit was received when Peter and John came down from Jerusalem

¹ "The reading of π is a less usual expression and in O de a better connection than the Greek text. The Greek consideration perhaps speaks for the latter against its originality. If the π reading is the original "western" π here is conformed to the B text." (J. H. Ropes, "The Text of Acts", Commentary in 1900, 3:17)

to see if the report were true that God had opened up the Messianic kingdom to the Samaritans, and having prayed for these believers, laid their hands upon them. 6:6 gives us the first instance of the laying on of hands as a symbol of approval and setting apart for special Christian work. The coming of the Spirit does not depend upon nor is it always coterminous with this act..

(18)

Acts 8:18 "Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Σίμων ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων δίδεται τὸ πνεῦμα προσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς χρῆματ' α"

"When Simon saw that through the laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Spirit was given, he offered them money".

B and Sinaiticus read τὸ πνεῦμα. ACDHLPS81 read τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

On the face of it this verse seems to indicate that the act of laying on of hands is instrumental in communicating the power of the Holy Spirit. But while it appeared so to Simon, it is more likely that he associated the two in his thought. He witnessed both the evident signs of the presence and the activity of the Holy Spirit and the act of the laying on of hands, immediately conjoined the two observations, and regarded the process of laying on of hands as the effective and responsible agent for the communication of the Spirit.

(19)

Acts 8:19 "Δότε μοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ὅταν ἐπιθῶ τὰς χεῖρας λαμβάνῃ πνεῦμα ἅγιον."

"Give me also this power that on whomsoever I lay my hands he may receive the Holy Spirit".

Simon thought he could purchase the gift and power of the Spirit with money but Peter rebuked him, "Thy heart is not right before God". The gift of the Holy Spirit is associated with a genuine attitude of personal faith and with personal character. Simon omits God in the whole procedure. God is the giver, the source of this free and powerful gift to those who are

spiritually deserving. The Holy Spirit is always God's gift. If Jesus dispenses it (2:33) he does so as God's Messiah who has received the promise of the Spirit and the power to impart it. It is informing to note now here and with Ananias, Peter emphasizes that the gift of the spirit is ethnically conditioned. The believer's heart must be right before God.

(20)

Acts 9:17 "...ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃς καὶ πλησθῇς πνεύματος ἁγίου."
 "Ananias..laying his hand on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord Jesus..hath sent me..that thou mayst receive thy sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit"

D lacks the Greek text from 8:29--10:14 and 8:20-10:4 in Latin.

In his vision of the Lord, Ananias was instructed to lay hands on Saul that he might receive his sight but nothing was said about Saul receiving the Holy Spirit. However, when Ananias meets Saul, he lays his hands upon him, declaring that Jesus sent him in order that Saul might receive his sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit. Nothing is said here nor in 22:13 to indicate that Paul was gifted with the Spirit at this time. But Saul had already had his experience of "being filled with the Holy Spirit" in his spiritual experience of Jesus on the Damascus road. And from that time on the Holy Spirit tradition develops along new and significant lines.

(21)

Acts 9:31 "...καὶ πορευομένη τῇ φόβῃ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπληθύνετο."
 "so the Church throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria had peace, being edified; and, walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit, was multiplied"

The continued advance of the Christian church beneath the guidance of the Holy Spirit is summarized here. This is the secret of its growth. It has reverent regard for the divine will and is, therefore, strengthened through the enabling powers of the Spirit. We hear for the first time of the presence of Christians in Galilee and that the Christian church had spread throughout all Judea. We gain the impression that Lk. has source

data available here of which he is not making complete use but only gives enough to satisfy the purpose he has in mind in writing. This verse looks like a condensed statement of the record of the Church's growth together with the important causes of its advance.¹

(22)

Acts 10:38 "Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὃς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν
ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει."

"Jesus of Nazareth, now God anoints him with the Holy Spirit and with power"

MSS B, Aleph, AC81 support the accepted reading. D has οὐ ἔχρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει. n has ὃς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει. The passage to which reference is evidently made and to which Messianic significance is attached is Isa. 61:1. By thus anointing Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit, God proclaimed him as Messiah. (Acts 4:27; Lk. 4:1, 14, 18).

(23)

Acts 10:44 "Ἐπέπεσε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς
ἀκροῦντας τὸν λόγον."

"While Peter yet spoke these words, the Holy Spirit fell on all them that heard the word"

We note how this verse continues and fittingly concludes Peter's speech begun in 10:34 and binds the incident together as a complete whole. The presence of the Holy Spirit demonstrates itself in a sudden, dramatic manner, interrupting Peter's preaching. It "fell upon" all his hearers and the group shared a highly emotional and ecstatic experience (10:47). Evidently, Luke's variously used phrases have no special significance. They are used synonymously as expressions to describe the same experience and phenomenon. The Spirit "comes upon", "falls upon", "is poured out", "is received",

¹ "Hören wir zum ersten Mal von Gemeinden in ganz Judäa, da 8:4, wenigstens nach dem rezipierten Texte, nichts von dieser Ausbreitung zu lesen war. Auch hier hat man ein Eindruck, dass die benutzte Ueberlieferung unvollständig reproduziert ist." (J. Weiss, "Absicht und den literarische Charakter der Apostelgeschichte", s. 18)

as a gift. Individuals or groups are "filled with the Holy Spirit". While this particular verse suggests the highly emotional experience of Ez. 11:15, a cursory comparison with the Old Testament (especially the LXX usage), will indicate what thoroughly familiar and synonymous Jewish terms these are. How amazing must have been the versatility of this Gentile writer to have handled such old Jewish religious terms with such naturalness and ease and to have been able to interchange them with such facility in connection with the Holy Spirit tradition! This is especially true if, as we shall attempt to show, he made little or no use of the Holy Spirit in the "we"-sections, where he would have every opportunity to do so and where he would probably have made such usage if his Holy Spirit references had been editorial rather than based upon his use of older sources embodying a Christian Holy Spirit tradition.

(124)

Acts 10:45 ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ πνεύματος
τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκκέχεται."
"because on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift
of the Holy Spirit."

B alone reads τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. Alaph, A81 and Antiochian texts strongly support ἁγίου πνεύματος. B reads τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου. In every case "Holy Spirit" is editorial in the texts.

This "pouring out" or "falling" of the Holy Spirit recalls 12:17, 18; 12:33 and is accompanied by marked external phenomena so evident (speaking with tongues and magnifying God) that even the Christian Jews present, who in this particular instance were naturally at the least prepared and perhaps the least in sympathy with the reception of the gift by "unclean Gentiles" were obliged to acknowledge and to testify to the reality of the experience.

(25)

Acts 10:47 "οὐκ ἔστιναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαβον ὥς καὶ ἡμεῖς;
 "Can any man forbid the water, that these should not
 be baptized, who have received the Holy Spirit as
 well as we?"

Here we note that the conception of the gift of the Spirit does not follow but precedes the act of water baptism "in the name of Jesus Christ".

(2:38) The certainty of the spiritual investment of the Gentiles is indicated by the conviction registered by "as well as we".

(26)

Acts 11:15 "ἐπέπεσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ"
 "As I began to speak, the Holy Spirit fell on them, even as on us at the beginning."

Peter in describing the gift of the Holy Spirit on the occasion of the conversion of Cornelius and his household, emphasizes its genuineness and reality, by reference to the experience of himself and those who participated in the outpouring of the gift at Pentecost. What Peter is saying here is not that the Holy Spirit fell upon the Caesareans in exactly the same way and manner as "upon us at the beginning" but "just as certainly", "just as surely" ὥσπερ καὶ (3:17) and ὥς καὶ (10:47; 11:17; 13:33; 17:23; 22:5).

(27)

Acts 11:16 "ἐμνήσθην δὲ τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου...δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ."
 "And I remembered the word of the Lord, how he said,
 John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be
 baptized in the Holy Spirit".

Here is a direct reference to Jesus' words in 1:5, which are exactly quoted. As we have noted, this baptism with Holy Spirit was not only a Messianic equipment but also a mark and characteristic of the new Messianic age. No stronger appeal could Peter have made before this audience than the reality of his own and their experience of the Holy Spirit reinforced

by a specific promise and word of Jesus. Five references to "the Holy Spirit" and 2 uses of "the Spirit" are to be noted in connection with this Cordelius experience.

(28)

Acts 11:24 "ὅτι ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ πίστεως."

"for he was a good man and full of the Holy Spirit and faith"

This reference to Barnabas suggests 6:5 where Stephen is called "a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit", and Lk. 23:50, where Joseph of Arimathea is "a good man". There is no suggestion that these men are full of "the faith" (ἡ πίστις)- the Christian community's teachings and incipient doctrines. Here "Holy Spirit" indicates that same usage we have met in connection with Stephen. It refers to a type of personal character and suggests more the element of continued possession than a sudden, ecstatic, occasional investment and experience. This development of thought is co-terminous with a change of scene and the passage of some time.

(29)

Acts 13:2 "εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον Ἀφορίσατε δὴ μαι τὸν Βαρνάβην καὶ Σαῦλον εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς."
 "And as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Spirit said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them"

While the Holy Spirit here appears completely personified "separate me ..to which I ..", it is unlikely that any distinct third person of a trinity is intended either here or throughout the Acts; No more so than in Isa. 63:10. The thought is rather that the Holy Spirit of God addresses itself to the collected group of prophets and teachers through one of the prophets suggesting the divine guidance, instruction, and will. We are reminded of the voice of God which speaks to men or groups of men in the rabbinical literature to aid in making decisions consistent with the divine

will and purposes. Here the Holy Spirit speaks and makes clear that this new expansion of Christianity through Barnabas and Saul is divinely sanctioned and is to be under the direction and leadership of the Holy Spirit, thus carrying forward the tradition that the Christian movement from its beginnings is directly led by the Spirit of God. The association of the Holy Spirit with the names of Barnabas and Saul is to be observed as well as the order in which these names appear in the following references of Luke to these Christian leaders.

(30)

Acts 13:4 "Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλυσθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος
 "So they, being sent forth by the Holy Spirit, went down
 to Seleucia"

Although the leaders of the Christian church fasted, prayed, and laid their hands upon Barnabas and Saul and sent them away, it is generally understood by Luke and his readers that God through the agency of the Holy Spirit sent them forth, having divinely separated them for the new Christian missionary task. While "by the Holy Spirit" (cf. 13:6) may suggest a personal view of the Holy Spirit it is improbable that any such personalization is intended as speculative and metaphysical. This is a religious expression growing out of religious consciousness of divine leadership. Of course, God was regarded as personal and moral. How else could His spirit be represented and its activities described than by means of personal language forms? This gives no difficulty when we remember that we are dealing with religious expressions of religious experience and not nouns or metaphysics. God, operating through His Holy Spirit, is recognized as the efficient cause behind this mission of Barnabas and Saul. It is He who always gives clear and special guidance through the Spirit, - the same efficient cause and divine power which on other occasions

fills, comforts, and empowers men for special and particular purposes and ends.

(31)

Acts 13:9 "Σαῦλος δέ, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, πληροθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου"

"Saul, who is also Paul, filled with the Holy Spirit"...

The divine origin of Paul's utterance and miracle here is clearly recognized. They are attributed to his being "filled with the Holy Spirit". The account shows plainly that the blinding of Elymas was a demonstration of the divine authority and power, which was not lost on the proconsul. It overcame his hesitancy and assisted toward his conversion. Here occurs the Lucan use of Paul for Saul, which name he adopts hereafter.. The divine guidance to accomplish the divine will through the mission of Barnabas and Saul have been clearly indicated. Their movements are divinely conditioned and sanctioned by the operative power of God's Holy Spirit.

(32)

Acts 13:52 "οἱ τε μαθηταὶ ἐπληροῦντο χαρᾶς καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου"

"and the disciples were filled with joy and the Holy Spirit"

This is another mention of a group being "filled with the Holy Spirit", such as we have met in 2:4, 4:31. As in 9:31 the Christian Church generally is increased and prospered by the presence and operations of the Holy Spirit. This seems to be another summary statement, indicating that Luke has more data before him in his source which he does not use further, since he has selected enough material to suit his purpose in writing. Consequently, he condenses into a sentence the general record of the growth of Christianity beneath the inspiration and leadership of the Holy Spirit, which is the essential factor and agent throughout.

(33)

Acts 13:8 "καὶ ὁ καρδιογνώστης θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτοῖς δοῦς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καθὼς καὶ ἡμῖν"..

"And God, who knoweth the heart, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Spirit, even as he did unto us"

While τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is well attested, it is interesting to note that in 15:7 the texts of Marclean (margin), 614, 257 read ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ after Πέτρος, while D1 have ἐν πνεύματι before Πέτρος. This leads us to mention one of the phenomena of the Western text, generally represented by D. Repeatedly there are found references to the Holy Spirit which the non-western text lacks. These additions are underlined in the following instances:-

- Acts 6:10 D "And they were not able to withstand the wisdom that was in him and the Holy Spirit with which he spake, because they were confuted by him with all boldness."
- 8:39 wanting in D but A² Syr^{hm} Jer. Aug. read "the Holy Spirit fell upon the eunuch but the angel of the Lord caught away Philip" for "The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip"
- 11:17 D adds "that I should not give them the Holy Spirit when they believed on him"
- 15:7 D "Peter rose up in the Spirit"
Syr. Marclean (mg), 614, 257 "Peter rose up in the Holy Spirit"
- 15:29 D, Iren. Tert. omit "and from things strangled" and add "and whatsoever ye would not should ye do to yourselves, ye do not to another".
- 15:32 D "and Judas and Silas, being themselves also prophets, full of the Holy Spirit, exhorted the brethren by speech"
- 20:3 D Syr^{hm} n "But the Spirit said to him" for "when he had spent three months"

In 15:8, our verse under consideration, Peter refers the gift of the Holy Spirit to God, who had endowed the Gentiles with its power. Again, as in 10:47, 11:15, Peter emphasizes the reality and certainty of the gift unto the Gentiles by ascribing to it the same genuineness which attached to the Pentecostal outpouring.

(34)

Acts 15:28 "Ἔδοξεν γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν"
 ὅτι ἔδοξεν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν

Baleph81 = τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν
 ΞΑΑΤ. CDant. HLPS, Origen = τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν
 Bap 33 = [τῷ ἁγίῳ] πᾶσι καὶ ἡμῖν [π]ν[ι]

This is a clear and important indication of the high dependence placed by the early Christian church and its leaders upon the direct inspiration, guidance, and counsel of the Holy Spirit to which to conform and by which to confirm their own best judgment and decisions. Some manifest expression must have been given upon such occasions so that all would recognize that the Holy Spirit had spoken the divine will and sanction. This suggests some of the high choices and selections made known by the voice of God to various groups of assembled religious leaders as mentioned in the rabbinical literature. Still close is Acts 5:32 (Peter speaking in defense of the Christian gospel before the religious leaders and authorities); and Acts 13:2 (the separation of Barnabas and Saul by the Holy Spirit, who spoke the choice of the church leaders at Antioch¹).

(35)

Acts 16:6 "καλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ"

"having been forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia"

The conscious dependence upon the living leadership through the operative power of the Holy Spirit is indicated here. In the ministry of the word and the preaching of the gospel, Paul is sensible of the Spirit's guidance and seeks to learn in order to obey the divine will. It is the idea of direct, conscious living guidance which is as old as the beginnings of Hebrew religious history. The new content is God at work in the immediate present - in these beginnings of the new Messianic era, the Christian era - through the Holy Spirit.

(36)

Acts 19:2 "Ἐὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες;"

"Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed?"

¹ "Acts 15:28 is a recognition of the Spirit's activity in the Church. It is not certain that thus early in the Church the mere unanimous decision of a Christian assembly without prophetic or other verification would be so pointedly identified with that of the Spirit. In some marked way the decision must have been approved by the Spirit. This interpretation places the verse in the class of charismatic uses." (I. P. Wood, "The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature", p. 192)

Receipt of the Holy Spirit is the realization and fulfilment of the Old Testament prophetic hopes and promises of the life in the new, Messianic era, when the Messiah would pour out the divine Spirit. In the Christian church this gift of the Holy Spirit is a condition as well as an evidence of participation in the life of the new age, a qualification for membership therein. Of course, these disciples of John the Baptist had not received the Messianic baptism with the Holy Spirit.

This is the one incident in the Pauline ministry as recorded in Acts (except it be 13:8f) which reads like a section from the early chapters of this book, stamped as it is with the characteristics of primitive Christian thought and experience, especially with respect to the Holy Spirit. Most of the narrative having to do with Paul's missionary labors records his experiences and teachings but not the practice nor mention of baptism or laying on of hands or even of the gift of the Holy Spirit.

(37)

Acts 19:2 "οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· ἄλλ' οὐδ' αἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔστιν ἡχοῦσμεν."

"And they said, No, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Spirit was (given)"

These disciples of John were not aware that there was available for them the gift of the Holy Spirit of God, though they were not unaware that there was the Holy Spirit of God. They had evidently not been informed of the special gift of the Spirit and the accompanying phenomena at Pentecost, when they made their avowal of faith.

(38)

Acts 19:6 "καὶ ἐπιθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Παύλου χειρὰς ἦλθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐλάλουν τε γλώσσης καὶ ἐπροφήτεον."
"And when Paul had laid his hands on them, the Holy Spirit came on them; and they spoke with tongues and prophesied."

¹ Jer. read "a straightway fell upon" for "came".¹

¹ cf. Expositor's Greek Testament, II, p. 403 for other interesting readings.

Here the act of water-baptism is repeated but now "in the name of Jesus Christ" as the seal and sign of their new faith in him. This act of baptism precedes the gift of the Holy Spirit (as 2:38 but unlike 10:47). Paul seems to depart from his usual custom here (ICor.1:14,17) by the laying on of his hands. The Holy-Spirit power is received by the group and manifests itself in the primitive Christian form of "speaking with tongues" and "prophesying". (Acts 8:17; 10:44f. cf ICor 12:10,14).

(39)

Acts 20:23 "...πλὴν ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατὰ πόλιν διαμαρτύρεται
μοι λέγον..."

"The Holy Spirit testifieth unto me in every city saying that bonds and afflictions abide me"

D has τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

This aspect of prophecy is one of the most familiar of the forms of activity attributed to the Holy Spirit. Whether such revelations were experienced by Paul himself or these warnings transmitted to him by the Spirit's activity through others, we do not know. Although such prophecy comes to him everywhere he goes, our only recorded instances are here and in 21:4, 11, and may be considered as typical of others known to him. The consciousness of divine leadership and obedience to the divine will continues with Paul.

(40)

Acts 20:28 "...ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους,
ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ..."

"Take heed unto yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit hath made you bishops, to feed the church of God"

D reads τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, either preserving an original reading or a scribal preference for the familiar and more grammatical τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. The usage here is similar to that in 13:2; 15:28. God is present and operative in the church and the corporate life of the Christian community not only to supplement but also to inspire and to direct human judgment and

wisdom to the proper selection and appointment of those who are to oversee and lead the churches and congregations of Christian believers.

(41)

Acts 21:11 "Τάδε λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον..."

"Thus saith the Holy Spirit: So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle"

This and 21:4 are the only two references to the Holy Spirit of God in the "We"-sections of the Acts.

Agabus stands like an Old Testament prophet solemnly proclaiming: "Thus saith the Holy Spirit" instead of "Thus saith Jahweh". Both for him and his hearers, the Spirit was the Holy Spirit of God himself, present and active. Here the prophetic function of the Holy Spirit is asserting itself through the inspiration of the prophet. (cf. 19:21; 20:22; 21:4,11 for uttered "in the Spirit" or prompted by "the Holy Spirit".)

(42)

Acts 28:25 "Καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἰσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου..."

"Well spake the Holy Spirit through Isaiah, the prophet unto your fathers"...

Here again the prophetic inspiration is attributed to the Holy Spirit of God, (cf. 1:16; 4:25; 7:51) who, throughout the Old Testament, thus spoke to reveal the divine will and purposes. This connection between Christian prophecy and Old Testament prophecy through the inspiration and operation of the Holy Spirit of God as immediately present, is a direct one. In the intermediate period when the voice of prophecy was stilled, the sacred scriptures were attributed to the active power of the Holy Spirit. But the new Christian era revived prophecy and the Christian prophet occupied a prominent place in the religious life of the ~~of the~~ Christian church and community, as we learn ~~not~~ not only from the Acts but the writings of Paul.

2. THE USE OF "THE SPIRIT"

(43) and (44)

Acts 2:17 "ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα...
2:18 "ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου.."

"I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh!..

"and on my servants and on my handmaidens in those days
will I pour forth of my Spirit and they shall prophesy."

The quotation is from Joel 2:28-31 and is not quite exact. "in the last days" (the new Messianic era) appears instead of the colorless "afterwards", while there is added here "and they shall prophesy".¹

This outpouring of the Spirit upon those who make up the true Israel is the intended promise. It will be a group and corporate experience and not reserved for a few favored or pious individuals. This prophecy from Joel is one of the strong supports for the new Christian movement, both in religious thought and experience.

(45)

Acts 5:9 "Τί ὅτι συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου;.."
"How is it that you have agreed together to try the
Spirit of the Lord?"

"The Spirit of the Lord" occurs in Acts 8:39 and in a quotation from the Old Testament in Lk 4:18..² It is the Holy Spirit of God and not the Spirit of the exalted Christ (5:3,4) . (cf. Comments on 5:3).

(46)

Acts 6:3 "...ἄνδρας ἐξ ὑμῶν μαρτυρούμενους ἐπὶ πλήρει πνεύματος
καὶ σοφίας.."
"wisdom!" "...seven men of good report, full of the Spirit and of

MSS E Aleph D contain the accepted reading. HPS(TR) read πνεύματος
ἀγίου καὶ σοφίας.

1 "This periphrastic addition to the words in Joel indicates the original and the address is there any special countenance given to the notion of and the appointed guests. It is a prophecy in relation to the Christian ministry. To grasp the divine grace it is from the later phases." (Bartlett: Commentary on Acts, p142)
2 "The O.T. flavor is preserved from the Aramaic sources of the infant church; yet the style is markedly Kusan. A. G. Campbell with the native only in Lk 5:35; Acts 15:15; Mt. 20-15. (Winstanley; The Spirit in the N.T. p. 34)

We note that the personal qualifications mentioned by Lk in the early chapters of Acts are character qualifications and are associated with the personal experience of the Holy Spirit in each individual case (Stephen, 6:5,8; Barnabas, 11:24). The qualifications of these seven appointed men are that they enjoy good reputations, are full of the Holy Spirit, and embrace sound, practical wisdom, (perhaps a capacity for successful administration of the office of business managers.) The one fundamental requirement in this Spirit-led Christian church and community was that each leader should possess or be "full of the Holy Spirit" in recognizable ways which would command the respect and obedience of those whom they led and served. The primary leadership of the primitive Church was divine. It was invested in the Holy Spirit of God. The human leadership was secondary but the possession of the Holy Spirit constituted the first credential of a leader. Those leaders were selected who demonstrated in satisfactory and commendable ways that they themselves were Spirit-filled and Spirit-led. These seven men were first and foremost religious men and leaders who had and could receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit of God as charismata.

(47)

Acts 6:10 "ἄλλὰ οὐκ ἔσχον ἀντιστῆναι τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῷ
πνεύματι ᾧ ἐλάλει."

"and they were not able to withstand the wisdom
and the Spirit by which he spoke."

We have already indicated the Western reading of D1 "and they were not able to withstand the wisdom that was in him and the Holy Spirit by which he spoke, because they were confuted by him with all boldness."

Wisdom here is not the ability for organization, as suggested by 6:3, but rather the gift of sound and prudent speech. The association of wisdom and counselling speech with the dynamic and inspiration of the Holy Spirit clearly indicates that the gift of the Holy Spirit did not always

express itself in abnormal, highly emotional, ecstatic experiences which but^bled over into incoherent jargon and produced the phenomenon "speaking with tongues". The solid impression conveyed by the long list of references to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in Acts is that sound judgment and sane speech constitute the norm while the cases of ecstatic utterance and "speaking with tongues" are relatively infrequent. This is contrary to current notion.

(48)

Acts 8:29 "εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ Φιλίππῳ."

"and the Spirit said to Philip, Go hear and join thyself to his chariot."

There is no occasion to identify "the Spirit" with "the angel of the Lord" mentioned in 8:26, nor to regard it inconsistent that in the one case the messenger of God addressed Philip while here the Holy Spirit speaks to him. The important thing is that Philip is regarded as divinely instructed and inspired and directed to cooperate with God in the conversion of the eunuch. It is the obedience of Philip to the divine urges of the Holy Spirit which is important.

Undoubtedly the reason why Luke allows the story to live in its Palestinian environment and atmosphere, though his own literary style has here and there impressed itself as usual, is because he is remaining true to the character of the source underlying this incident. This is more likely than that the adept litterateur is here demonstrating his versatility and adapting his style and language to the given geographical and cultural setting.

(49)

Acts 8:39 "ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἤρπασεν τὸν Φίλιππον."

"When they came up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip".

MS B Aleph C91 read πνεῦμα Κυρίου. A reads "Ἦν αὖ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἄγγελος δὲ Ἦν ΚΥ ἤρπασεν τὸν Φίλιππον. This verse is missing in

ὁ δὲ ἅγ. πνεῦμα ἔκλεψε τὸν φίλιππον. This is the only instance in the entire New Testament where "the Spirit of God is regarded as operative in the external world".¹ This is not a belittled Lucan achievement but is in the background of Old Testament religious thought, where the Spirit of God acts in a similar way in the Elijah stories (IKi.18:12; IIKi.2:16) and Eze-kiel has the experience of transportation from place to place (Ez.3:12-14; 8:3; 11:24). In fact, this seems one of the clearest instances where Luke has reflected truly the character of some underlying Jewish-Christian source. It seems incredible that a Gentile Christian, even though he be a Luke, should be so thoroughly familiar with all the lights and shades of Old Testament thought that he could seize upon this idea and write it into the story about Philip, thus giving the only such usage in the New Testament

(50).

Acts 10:19 "τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου διασημοῦμένου περὶ τοῦ
ὄραματος εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα"

"and while Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said
unto him"

It is clear that Peter is engaged in earnest and serious thought, experiencing the normal exercises of his native faculties and mental powers, when the Holy Spirit speaks to him. It would be absurd to be obliged to posit some condition and experience whereby he made a swift transition from this deeply contemplative and reflective mood to some at-normal, not-rational, highly emotional state wherein the Holy Spirit could make plain the next step for Peter to take. In some clearly recognizable and normal way Peter was acquainted with the divine will and knew that it was the voice of God speaking to him (cf. 8:29). As special guidance was given Philip for his work of expanding the Christian church, so Peter here is divinely directed into the meeting with Cornelius.

¹ E. D. Burton, "Spirit, Soul and Flesh", p. 181

(51)

Acts 11:12 "εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα μοι συν λαβεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν διακρίναντα."
 "And the Spirit bade me go with them, making no distinction."

Peter makes it clear to his auditors that he was led into the meeting with Cornelius not because of his own judgment but in spite of it. The direct guidance of the Holy Spirit is entirely responsible for the affair. Peter has no alternative but to advance at the call of the voice of God beyond the borders of his own prejudice and, making no distinction, to obey the inspirations and the promptings of the Holy Spirit. This attitude led him into the consequences and practical problems which were unlooked for and which had to be adjusted afterwards to accord with the same divine inspiration and counsel of the Spirit of God. This Cornelius incident is a practical illustration of the primary and complete dependence of primitive Christianity and its leaders upon the conscious experience of divine guidance and the certainty that they were accomplishing the divine will and purposes.

The mention of "these six brethren" in this verse adds a realistic touch which strengthens the probability that the incident is derived from some earlier written source, despite the fact that εἶπεν δὲ is a favorite expression of Luke. This illustrates well how Luke's literary style could change some of the verbal forms of his source tradition without altering its essential content.

(52)

Acts 11:28 "ἀνστήσας δὲ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Ἀγάθος ἐσηύχεν, εἰς τὸ τοῦ πνεύματος λαβόν μεγάλην μέλλειν ἐσεῖναι ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ."
 "And there stood up one of them named Agatus and signified by the Spirit that there should be a great famine over all the world (land?)"

The Western text preserves a remarkable reading here. At the end of

verse 27 Codex Bezae alic, "and there was much exultant joy. And when we were assembled together, one from among them spake, by name Agabus", etc. If this reading is genuine, it constitutes the first appearance of "we", signifying first-hand witness in the person of Luke himself, who is attached to the Christian church at Antioch.

Agabus is a member of the class of Christian leaders called "the prophets", probably "those endowed with a special inspiration enabling them to reveal God's mind in all relations useful to the well-being of his people, (forth-tellers and not only foretellers.)"¹ Paul denotes their importance in ICor. 14, where he ranks them next to the apostles as Christian leaders (cf. ICor. 12:28 also). There were "prophets and teachers" in the Christian church at Antioch (13:1). Judas and Silas were prophets (15:32). The daughters of Philip were prophetesses (21:9), and we meet Agabus again in 21:10.

The fact that here Agabus continues to signify his warnings of approaching famine by means of the inspiration to prophecy furnished by the Holy Spirit, is an indication that there was no ecstatic or abnormal demonstration and experience of fallen, special revelation, but his repeated assertions were prompted by his natural gift for prophecy which was generally recognized and accepted as divinely inspired.

(53)

Acts 16:7 "καὶ οὐκ ἔλασεν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ."
 "and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not".

MSS BDAlephAC²B1 read τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ and show that this reading is well attested. C reads τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου while HLP3(7R) contain simply τὸ πνεῦμα.

The phrase, "the Spirit of Jesus" is unique in the N.T. Its originality

¹ V. Bartlett, Commentary on Acts, p. 245

certainly is due not to Luke but to Paul, his friend and companion, who must have been his source here as for many of the data in the second half of Acts. II Cor. 3:17f affords the nearest parallel to this apparently indirect identification of the Holy Spirit with the exalted Christ. The exalted Christ is the active revealing power of God in the human heart--this is Paul's own religious consciousness and the basis for the rich and unique contributions of Paul to the historical development of the Holy Spirit tradition. We have noted already that if any identification is to be made of the Holy Spirit of God and the exalted Lord, it is solely a practical one for Paul and neither theological nor speculative.

In this instance the reference is probably to some unique spiritual experience of Paul - some impressive vision of Jesus himself - which made it clear that he was not to set foot in Asia at that particular time. (cf. Paul's vision of Jesus in the temple at Jerusalem, 22:17, 18; his experience upon the Damascus road, Gal. 1:16; Acts 9:1-9; 22:47; 26:10f).

(54)

Acts 21:4 "οἱ τινες τῇ Παύλῳ ἔλεγον διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος μὴ ἐπιβῆναι εἰς Ἱερουσόλῃμ."

"and these said to Paul through the Spirit that he should not set foot in Jerusalem."

There is no inconsistency here with Paul's statement in 20:23 "the Holy Spirit testifieth unto me in every city saying that bonds and afflictions abide me."¹ There was no ecstatic experiences in connection with this prophetic utterance of the disciples, so far as we know. The contrary seems more probable, - that the Holy Spirit was active in them to give expression to their best, rational thought and solemn judgment as well as their deepest feelings and sincerest emotions. Such coincidence between

¹ "That the prophets at Tyre should forewarn the apostle's danger was only in accordance with his own words of 20:23 and their affectionate regard for him might well prompt them to dissuade him from such perilous risks." (R. Knowling, "Acts" in the Expositor's Greek Testament, Vol. II, p. 443)

the Holy Spirit's inspiration and guidance and the heightened powers of human thought, emotion, and will in action, is the impressive feature of the second half of Acts just as the association of the power of the Holy Spirit with mighty works, supernatural accomplishments to the accompaniment of unusually stirring religious experiences, and the direct dependence of the individual person as a passive instrument upon the shaping influences and inspirations of God's Holy Spirit are so much a part of the first half of the Book of Acts. .

The Holy Spirit tradition in Acts is inseparably associated with the tremendous fact, verified by personal experience, of the exaltation of Jesus, as God's Messiah. The first striking feature is the connection of the Holy Spirit with the post-resurrection appearances and meetings of Jesus with his disciples. His teaching and their expectations are centered about the promised gift of the Holy Spirit (1:2,4,8). The second feature is the important and unique place given the experience on the day of Pentecost. It is recorded both as the culmination of all the previous Messianic hopes and expectations, centuries old, and also as the beginning of the new Messianic age.

"The whole Pentecostal phenomenon has the character of a testimony to Jesus...the gift and possession of the Spirit is the proof to the world of the exaltation of Jesus. It is his divine power which is behind this incalculable elevation and reenforcement of the natural life."¹

The unique factor is the realization of Jewish Messianic hopes in terms of Christian religious experience and life, all of which centers about the person of Jesus.

The day of Pentecost not only is a vindication of the exaltation and Messiahship of Jesus but marks the entrance of the Holy Spirit into human life as a gift bestowed by Jesus, the exalted and living Messiah (2:31-33). It is hardly necessary to repeat that this accords with the fulfilment of Messianic expectations and conditions of life for the new, Spirit-filled, divinely-guided era! This spiritual bequest from Jesus is given to advance his Messianic cause and to bear witness for him.(1:8)

"The inference appears certain that Jesus had bestowed this gift in virtue of his new authority. It had come immediately after he had ascended and on the men whom he had chosen. Not only so but its purpose was manifestly to bear witness to him and to assist the progress of his work."²

Another striking feature of the Holy Spirit tradition as trans-

¹Denney, J. Article, "Holy Spirit" in *H. D. C. & B.*, I, p. 737.

²Scott, E. F. "The Spirit in the N. T.", p. 86

mitted by Luke is just the prominence of the Holy Spirit of God as presiding over and operative through the life of the early Christian community and church. It manifested itself in a variety of ways, both in the lives of individuals and the corporate body of Christians. There is no clear, sharply defined, consistent, unified doctrine of the Holy Spirit given which we might trace step by step in logical sequence of development. However, there is a general unity in the midst of great diversity. It is the unity of fact in the diversity of its expression.

It is characteristic of the earlier descriptions in Acts that the Spirit comes suddenly upon a person and is active in and through him only intermittently. The Holy Spirit is a special gift for some particular occasion and always to accomplish some particular piece of work which will advance the Christian cause. The works of the Spirit embrace two essential and constant elements: the great fact of the religious experience itself and the Messianic purpose of that experience. It was the efficient ^{divine} cause working in and through man or men for the production of effects and results which furthered the Messianic kingdom inaugurated by Jesus.¹

In another way, each intermittent working of the Christian individual under the direct inspiration and power of the Holy Spirit embodied a constant factor and made the Spirit in a sense an abiding possession. This constant element is the limitation of the sphere of the Spirit's work to the body of Christian believers. The Holy Spirit always works in and through the Christian community and church. It is the gift of God through Jesus, as Lord and Christ, to His disciples and His people, which no outsider could share. While limited to the Christian community and church, the gift of the

¹ "A great emotion must have a great occasion. It must also have a great outcome in life." (I. F. Wood, *ibid*, p. 180)

Spirit is bestowed upon all the members and is not an esoteric experience reserved for specially favored or elect individuals or leaders. It is a common experience and a Christian group possession, though participation could come only immediately and directly as individual Christians shared their own personal experiences.

Some idea of the great variety of means and differences of manner in which this common Holy Spirit experience found expression in the lives both of individuals and the Christian community may be gained from the following:-¹

A--The Holy Spirit acting in individual life,-

(1) Endowment with charismatic gifts.

- a. Prophecy, 11:28;20:23;21:4,11
- b. Tongues, 2:4,38;10:44f;11:15f;15:8;19:2f.
- c. Wisdom, 6:10
- d. Power to perform miracles, 13:9
- e. Vision, 7:55
- f. Power for Xian testimony on special occasions,4:8,31
- g. Specific or general guidance,8:29,39;10:19;11:12;13:2,4;16:6,7;20:28
- h. Charismata, general, 5:32;8:15f.

(2) More continuous control-

"full of the Spirit" as mark of character but not resulting in special charismatic power. Approaches ethical meaning . 6:3,5;9:17;11:24. (cf. also, Lk. 1:15,41,4:1)

B--The Holy Spirit acting upon life of Church as a whole for Messianic purposes.

1:8;2:33;5:3,9,32;9:31;13:52;15:28.

C--The Holy Spirit as present in Christ, guiding his Messianic activity.

1:2; 10:38

D--The Holy Spirit as revealer in O.T.

1:16;4:25;7:51;18:15.

We can see readily that there is no well-thought-out, doctrine or dogma concerning the Holy Spirit. The tradition is still alive and stirring life. It has not become fixed and congealed. Just as history precedes philosophy and religious experience is the antecedent of theology, so the works of the Spirit as Luke transmits the record are still in the province

¹ After I.F.Wood, *ibid*, p.153

of living religious experience. Consequently, we find many apparent inconsistencies and contrasted expressions. The gift at times is bestowed upon individuals; again, it is a group experience. Now it is temporary and occasional; again, there is a suggestion of continuous possession. Its presence is coincident with an abnormal enthusiasm and religious fervor that expresses itself in glossolalia. Or, it inspires recognition of the divine will in moments of solemn contemplation and reflection and when the individual is in a perfectly normal and natural state. The Holy Spirit seems at times to endow individuals with new enabling powers which they never possessed before and in consequence of which they are able to achieve the apparently impossible. At other times the native abilities and personal characteristics of the individual are heightened and raised to higher levels of personal power. At times the Spirit seems to be personalized and personified. It speaks, commands, sends forth, chooses leaders, etc. At other times it is regarded impersonally, and is poured out, given and received, comes upon or falls upon, persons. They are filled by it and with it.

There is uncertainty and difference as to the time and manner in which the Spirit is communicated. Frequently it is associated with water baptism and the laying on of hands. Sometimes, the gift of the Spirit is bestowed before baptism and without it. Again, it follows baptism. It both precedes and is coterminous with the laying on of hands. It is associated with prayer and again it is not.

However, there is a persistent unity in the midst of all this apparent diversity and inconsistency. The early Christians may have been uncertain about the nature of the Spirit and the exact time of its communication but they did have a clear conviction as to the fact of its presence and the certainty of its effects. The Holy Spirit is always active to reveal God's will and to empower the recipient to perform that will in such a way that



the interests of the Messianic cause are advanced, whether the revelation is made through the Holy Spirit (16:6), or the Spirit of Jesus (16:7), or it is God himself who makes his will plain (16:10).¹ The Spirit is always given for the support and the progress of the Christian mission. When the disciples possessed it, they were empowered to defend themselves in the presence of hostile persons; to make wise decisions and use sound judgment in important crises; and to labor boldly and wholeheartedly for the great ends of the Christian mission. The impression we carry away from the reading of Acts, especially the first half, is that the individual leaders, who were Spirit-filled, were virtually instruments used for furthering the divine ends and objectives.

Another sustained emphasis making for a growing unity is that the Holy Spirit in its workings is the chief witness to the truth of the Christian gospel (2:16f; 5:32; 6:10; 15:8, etc.). In Acts the Holy Spirit bears witness in an externally impressive and convincing manner to the reality of the gospel. Especially in the first half of the book, its presence is attended by such marvellous demonstrations of wonder-working power and extraordinary manifestations that there is left no room for any possible doubt in the mind of Luke's first-century reader, as well as of those who witnessed the phenomena. There is nothing to do before such overpowering and awe-inspiring proof but to acknowledge that the Christian gospel is true and that the Christian community and church is endowed with divine power, is divinely led, and is endowed and entrusted with a divine mission.

Perhaps the most characteristic gift of the Spirit and evidence of its presence in the early Christian community was that of glossalalia, or "speaking with tongues". It is hardly correct to say that "it was the sudden appearance of this gift which first convinced the disciples that the Spirit of which the prophets had spoken was now bestowed on them"¹

¹ Scott, E. F., *ibid* p. 93

The sudden appearance of this phenomenon of ecstatic, incoherent, broken speech may have done much to convince those present as auditors and bystanders but the conviction for the disciples lay deeper, within their own profound, stirring religious experience on the occasion of Pentecost; their own tremendous emotion of religious exaltation could not be imprisoned in intelligible speech but broke forth in the form of "speaking with tongues". It was the religious exaltation accompanying the illuminating experience of the presence of the Holy Spirit which was responsible for the "gift of tongues". A careful distinction must be made between the gift of the Holy Spirit and the gift of tongues. They are not to be identified. The experience of the gift of the Holy Spirit was the cause and basis for the gift of tongues, which was the inarticulate and external expression of the gift of the Spirit.

The importance of the Holy Spirit for the life of the early Christian church is indicated by the unique theory and fact^{that} of the Holy Spirit governed and controlled the corporate life of the church as well as the lives of individual Christians.

"The church was distinguished from all other societies in that it was governed by the Spirit. We have here a fact of fundamental importance for the understanding of early Christianity... In all its arrangements for worship and social life the new community sought to mark itself out as different from all societies of this world, in which there were rulers formally appointed and careful distinction between place and place. (Lk 22:25, 26). But this idea of equality, suggested first by memories of Jesus' lifetime, was reenforced from another side. The Spirit had now come in the place of Jesus. He himself had once presided over his company of disciples, but now he was gone the Spirit directed them in his stead, and in the manner that he desired. Everything like organization was, therefore, avoided as contrary to the inner nature of the church. It was a community of the Spirit and must be willing in all things to order itself by that divine guidance."¹

From the standpoint of practical religious experience and not dogmatic theology, the Holy Spirit did take the place of Jesus and from the very
Scott, E. P., *ibid*, p. 109

beginning the guidance and control of the life of the Christian community by the present and manifest Holy Spirit were accepted and sought. In contrast to the selection of Matthias by lot in 1:26, the leaders of the Christian church were chosen directly by the Holy Spirit and not officially elected by the members of the Christian congregation or community. However, the church did participate in the selection of its workers and leaders. 13:2 indicates that when there were several Spirit-qualified men, the church after a season of fasting and prayer would come to a decision in a coram with some prophetic announcement which carried conviction to the entire gathering that the pronouncement was inspired by the Holy Spirit. Or, the church itself would declare in favor of some particular men (8:3). Such men must be generally known and recognized as Spirit-filled men (Stephen, Barnabas) but there was no such thing as a formal election by popular vote to any church office, apparently.

"The Church confined its choice to men who were manifestly endowed with the Spirit, and aimed at nothing more than at ascertaining the Spirit's preference. It was assumed that the decision had been made already, and all that remained for the church was to discover and ratify it."¹

Thus, the primitive Christian church sought to realize its ideal for a ministry composed of leaders endowed with spiritual gifts and a church entirely under the direct guidance, inspiration, and control of the Holy Spirit, the presence of which it was conscious of possessing. The wide application of this idea to the ever widening service and services of the church brought into positions of leadership Spirit-filled men of various spiritual gifts and endowments. The three most important places, "apostles, prophets, teachers", which were included in the classified ministry of the Christian church at the time Paul wrote 1Cor. 12:28, are mentioned in Acts. For our consideration it is important to note that apostleship was primar-

¹ E. F. Scott, "The Spirit in the N.T." p. 110. (pp. 108-120 present a valuable study of the spiritual ministry of the early Christian church)

ily a SPIRITUAL gift. For example, Barnabas and Paul were apostles, although not of the twelve (Acts 14:14). The prophets were men especially endowed with the Holy Spirit for prophetic utterance as "forthtellers" of the will of God (Agabus, 11:28). The teachers were likewise men gifted with the Holy Spirit.

"It is altogether likely that in the early church teaching involved an element of revelation and that the teacher was expected to unfold the hidden meanings of scripture with the aid of the Spirit which had inspired it. He not only transmitted the facts of Christian experience but interpreted them in their deeper significance and meaning."

Thus, we get some idea of "the Holy Spirit" as Luke transmits it in the Book of Acts. Dealing as it does with the facts of religious experience, where the narrative is often an inadequate attempt to describe the indescribable, we may inquire whether such a tradition possesses historical worth or validity. Recent New Testament criticism of Acts has given us evidence on other grounds for the historical character of the book as well as the historical value of its contents, even in the first half of Acts. But what of this Holy Spirit tradition which dominated the early chapters of Acts?

We may say that it does possess historical value, for after making due allowance for legendary accretions, the historicity of the Holy Spirit tradition in Acts can be maintained:-

(1) It meets the first test of historicity.

"The main test of historicity is the harmony of a given record with all the known conditions of the age with which it deals."

Luke's presentation of the Holy Spirit tradition is in accord with its supposed historical position as to time, place, and circumstances. As we shall see presently, it locates itself naturally as post-synoptic and pre-Pauline, as definitely identified with the earliest primitive Christianity

¹ E. P. Scott, *ibid.*, p. 117

² S. J. Case "The Christian Century", Oct. 6, 1927, p. 1167.

of Jerusalem, and fits easily and naturally into those attendant circumstances which on other grounds have been shown historically reliable.¹

(2) Much recent criticism maintains that the Christian doctrine of the Spirit was not adopted by the church until after it had felt the influence of Gentile thought. We have already indicated that from the available evidence the pagan and mystery cults more probably borrowed from Christian thought than the contrary. In fact, while these were essentially grounded in the belief that through ecstasy the worshipper was temporarily identified with the deity, in the earliest narratives of Acts, the Spirit is directly related to the Old Testament thought as a divine power from above to reinforce and supplement the natural capacities of men as well as to furnish supra-human powers. If we assume that Christianity borrowed from paganism, we must likewise assume that Luke has labored with infinite pains to completely recast his tradition to accord with Hellenic thought. The more natural conclusion, sustained by a comparison of the Lucan principles and details in his Gospel, is that he transmitted with fidelity the tradition as it originated in the Jewish-Christian community at Jerusalem, which had been brought up on the O.T.

Again, while there is not a scrap of evidence to support the belief that the Spirit did not arise as a Christian doctrine until Christian thought was impressed by the beliefs of the mystery cults, Paul in his letters, quite apart from Acts, consistently registers the fact, which he takes for granted as established and valid, that the Christian church possesses the Holy Spirit from its inception. In Rom. 8, spiritual endowment is one of the requirements and tests of a Christian, (cf. Gal. 3:2; 2:8, 9).

Further, we have seen that apart from Acts the idea of the Spirit is imbedded in New Testament thought, from which fact we infer its presence

¹ "It is not only taken as a whole a genuinely historical work but even in the majority of its details it is trustworthy." (A. Harnack, "Acts of the Apostles", p. 298)

from the beginning of the Christian movement. Although Paul and Jean contribute much that is new and significant for the tradition of the Holy Spirit, they still hold to much that does not harmonize with their advanced interpretation, simply because it was an inheritance from primitive Christianity which they felt still retained essential elements and which, therefore, they did not feel disposed to discard. The presence of such idea-material in their writings is inexplicable unless we recognize and accept an historically earlier, Christian-church, Holy-Spirit tradition.

The Holy Spirit tradition, then, is historically reliable in general and even lying behind the heightened and colored stories are historical nuclei of the facts of religious experience of which the narrative is an attempt at expression. All the evidence directs us to the fact that this tradition came into existence in the Christian circle at Jerusalem in the period immediately following the death of Jesus.

Having exposed a historically accredited, unique, Christian tradition of the Holy Spirit, to be located in the earliest period of primitive Christianity in Jerusalem, we shall want to test our position from the standpoint of the development of the religious thought concerning the Holy Spirit; on the one hand, as it appears in the synoptic records, and, on the other hand, as the Pauline writings give it expression. We shall be interested particularly to compare the Acts tradition with that of Paul. If Luke, the friend and companion of Paul, is influenced at all by the apostle's unique ideas concerning the Holy Spirit, we shall expect to find many points of similarity between the two. If dissimilarity appears instead, there is strong probability that Luke is reflecting another tradition which is unaffected by Pauline influence and which is not original with our author but is transmitted by him with general fidelity from some underlying source or sources.

4. THE "HOLY SPIRIT" TRADITION OF THE BOOK OF ACTS COMPARED WITH THE SYNOPTIC AND PAULINE USAGE.

The Holy Spirit tradition in Acts brings to fulfillment the ideas and promises to the disciples containedⁿ in the Synoptic Gospels. There the activity of the Spirit is entirely restricted to the life and teachings of Jesus, who alone is the possessor of the Holy Spirit of God as a present, resident power. In the Acts the followers of Jesus and members of the Christian community are in possession of the Holy Spirit, as the gospels promised. John the Herald had revived the old prophetic expectations of a gracious outpouring of the Spirit of God in the new age just at hand, by linking together the ideas connected with the Messiah and the Holy Spirit and quickening these expectations and hopes. The early chapters of the Acts portrays the beginning of this new era and the realization of the promised Messianic outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, two promises made by Jesus to his disciples and recorded in the gospels, are now fulfilled. The petition for the gift of the Holy Spirit which God would give to all who earnestly ask and pray for it, is now granted to the disciples of Jesus, according to the Acts' tradition. The primitive Christian church tradition likewise affords numerous examples of the fulfillment of Jesus' promise, (Mk. 13:12; Mt. 10:20; Lk. 12:12 (21:15)), that the Holy Spirit would assist and support the witness of the disciples with appropriate utterance in special and critical moments of need, especially when they should be summoned before the civil and religious authorities. The Acts' tradition

attaches directly to the synoptic tradition which precedes it.

Just as clearly, the Lucan tradition of Acts is pre-Pauline in its thought of the Holy Spirit and the description of its activities. It is informing to observe how entirely free it is from the influence or impress of Pauline thought concerning the Spirit, although Luke was closely associated with Paul and undoubtedly knew something of his Christian thought and teaching. We have indicated the fact already, that Paul, who made important and new contributions to the development of religious thought concerning the Holy Spirit, really recognized, accepted, and retained much of the tradition which was native to primitive Christianity. In fact, he built upon this earlier tradition.

It is clear that Paul shares the popular view that the Spirit imparts extraordinary gifts and experiences, and he regards miracles, visions, and charismata as special manifestations of the activity of the Holy Spirit, (cf I Cor. 12-14 for his attitude on "speaking with tongues" and prophecy). He himself has ecstatic experiences and speaks with tongues (II Cor. 12: 4; I Cor 14: 18), and regards himself as a man endowed with unusual powers and gifts by virtue of the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit (I Cor. 2: 15; Gal. 6: 1), while in Rom 15: 18 he declares he will speak only of those words and deeds which were achieved "in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of the Holy Spirit". But Paul changes in important respects the idea concerning these special and unusual, charismatic gifts of the Spirit. I Cor 12-14 emphasizes that the primary gift of the Spirit is the recognition of the lordship of Jesus as Christ. A great religious and ethical purpose is to be served in the expression of every gift, for it must be put to the right use of edification and must contribute to the general good of the entire Christian church and the gospel, (I Cor 14: 26). For Paul, the edification of the church is the divine aim and purpose for every charismatic gift.

This high religious purpose is likewise ethical and practical. Whereas the primary emphasis of the early part of Acts seems to be upon power for demonstrating the truth and reality of the Christian gospel; with Paul it is power definitely directed to high ethical ends.¹ This Pauline emphasis upon the ethical working of the Spirit to produce ethical results and moral character (Gal. 5:13-25) rather than upon the charismatic powers of the gift as such, leads us to consider a second unique factor in Paul's thought of the Spirit which is present but not emphasized in the tradition in Acts.

The Holy Spirit is made the basis of the ordinary, individual life. It is the essential part of the daily Christian life. It is the source of a new type and high manner of life. Daily life is conceived in terms of "life in the Spirit". The Spirit is a regenerative power effecting moral renewal and the best evidence of the presence of the Spirit is that type of ordinary, daily life which produces the fruits of the Spirit (Gal. 2:20; 5:22; I Cor. 13). For Paul the Christian life is the ordinary rather than the extraordinary life.

The tradition in Acts indicates that the emphasis of the Christian church before the time of Paul did not associate the Spirit as closely with the regular, daily life of the individual Christian as it did with charismata. The latter were not the common possession of all Christians equally nor did they proceed directly from the fact of Christian belief, as the expression "faith and the Spirit" shows. The gift of the Spirit is the *donum supernum*. However, the Spirit had wider significance for the life of the early Church. Indeed, before the time of Paul it was believed that the corporate life of the Christian body was sustained and furthered by the direct inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit.

¹ G. B. Stevens, "New Testament Theology", p. 439

In one sense the whole range of Christian life was felt to be governed directly by the Holy Spirit. But in another sense Paul effected an important change. He identified the activities of the Spirit not only with particular, special acts but with the entire will and temper in which they were performed. He was convinced that by the power of the Spirit which Christ had bestowed, individual Christians were inwardly transformed in such a way that their outward words and deeds were conformed to the inward changes effected by the Spirit. Thus, the whole Christian life as well as Christian life as a whole were considered as "life in the Spirit".

Paul necessarily emphasizes the Holy Spirit as an inward, indwelling power and a constant, abiding factor, as a consequence of his emphasis upon the direction of Holy Spirit power to high ethical ends. On the contrary, the tradition of Acts, by putting emphasis upon the charismatic aspects of the Holy Spirit's activity, likewise stressed external demonstration as the necessary evidence of the Spirit's inward presence, and the occasional, special character of that presence rather than the constant factor.

Again, Luke and Paul are to be compared from the standpoint of their respective presentations of the relationship of the Spirit to Jesus as the Christ. If any Pauline influence is to be traced in the Acts' tradition, we should reasonably expect to find it in connection with this aspect of the Spirit's use. But the primitive church tradition transmitted by Luke presents a thoroughly Jewish-Christian conception built upon a solid foundation of Old Testament Messianic thought, unclouded by any idea which would clearly identify the Holy Spirit with the exalted Jesus. There is a confusion of expression in the Pauline writings concerning the relation of the Holy Spirit to Jesus, as we have noted previously.

At times he seems practically to identify the Spirit with the exalted Jesus (II Cor. 3:17; Gal. 2:20), and he speaks frequently of the "spirit of Christ" (Rom. 8:9; II Cor. 3:18; Gal. 4:6; Phil. 1:19). We have seen that this is a practical rather than a theological identification and can be accounted for on the basis of Paul's own personal religious experience of the exalted Jesus and the fact that he was using unscripted thought forms of the Holy Spirit which were inadequate to describe the reality and significance of this central religious fact for him.

According to Acts, Jesus himself, God's Messiah, had been "anointed by God with the Holy Spirit and power" at his baptism (10:38). Jesus had promised his disciples that they should be baptized with the Holy Spirit (1:5; 11:16) and should be equipped with power when the Holy Spirit comes upon them (1:8). It is Jesus as God's Messiah, himself having received the promised Holy Spirit, who is responsible for the outpouring of God's Spirit upon the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:33). For the early Jewish-Christians the Messianic and Holy-Spirit ideas belong to two separate traditions and they would have been confused by the thought that the Holy Spirit was to be identified with the exalted Messiah. To be sure, the Holy Spirit does take the place of the absentee Lord but it is not to be identified with him. The only instances in Acts where there seems to be confusion of thought are in 16:6, 7, 10. In 16:6 the Holy Spirit ministers; in 16:7, the Spirit of Jesus; in 16:10 the call is recognized as that of God. Beyond doubt, these notes came originally from Paul to Luke, who is present with him in 16:10. We have already indicated that it is not altogether improbable that Paul had a vision of Jesus and here refers the guidance of the Spirit to him, in keeping with his own unique experience of the exalted Christ as the revealing power of God to him. But regardless of

the expressions used in Acts 16, it is the revealing will of God which is made known and serves as Paul's divine guide.

The difference of emphasis upon the Holy Spirit and ^{Jesus} Christ in the Acts and with Paul, may be stated thus:- primitive Christianity placed primary emphasis upon pneumatology. For Paul Christology comes first¹

A summary of the differences between the Lucan transmission of the Holy Spirit tradition in Acts and the Pauline conception and usage has been stated aptly by Gunkel:-

"The community regarded as pneumatic the extraordinary in the Christian life, Paul the ordinary; they, that which is peculiar to individuals, Paul that which is common to all; they, that which happens suddenly and abruptly, Paul that which is constant and sustained; they, that which is special in the Christian life, Paul the Christian life itself... No longer is that which is individual and sporadic regarded as the divine in man but the Christian man himself is the 'pneumatiker' (the pneumatic man)."²

Thus, the tradition of Acts is distinct from and antecedent to, as well as uninfluenced by, Paul's conception of the Spirit, both in its location in the historical period and in the history of the development of New Testament thought concerning the Holy Spirit. It occupies a middle position between the synoptic tradition on the one hand and the Pauline on the other, as a distinctly Jewish-Christian, primitive church tradition which this Gentile Christian, Luke, transmits with fidelity.

"Luke after all reflects a less developed form of teaching in his writings than his greater fellow-traveler; he edits his sources in the light of the Spirit's work, but that work is still to him almost solely confined to the equipment of the Messiah, of those who prepare His way, and of those who lead on the continuation of His saving mission."³

We shall make an approach to the discovery that Luke does transmit faithfully the record of the Spirit's work as he found it in the source material used by him, through an investigation of the distribution of the Holy Spirit

¹ "if only for the reason that the conversion-experience of the exalted Christ (Jesus) to himself took the place of the Spirit's acknowledged work in many another." (Winstanley, E.M., *ibid*, p. 117)

² Gunkel, H. "Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes", p. 82

³ Winstanley, E.M., *ibid* p. 136

references throughout Acts. This will show that Luke himself is not pre-disposed to make use of "the Holy Spirit" unless it exists in his source; and, further, that the primitive Christian church tradition is localized in the first half of the Book of Acts.

5. DISTRIBUTION OF REFERENCES TO "THE HOLY SPIRIT" THROUGH ACTS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

There is no question but that the prominent use of "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel and Acts is one of the chief literary characteristics of these Lucan writings and that the number of such references is greater than the total references of all the rest of the N.T. combined. The pertinent question is whether Luke is originally responsible for this literal usage or whether his sources contained "the Holy Spirit" and he is transmitting them with fidelity. We have been led to support the tentative hypothesis that he did find such data in his sources through our study of the Third Gospel references. When we inquire whether ~~not~~ the use of "the Holy Spirit" in Acts is favorable to the theory of written sources or editorial insertion, we have the opportunity to bring our query to bear directly upon some firsthand writing of Luke's in which the material and data are furnished by himself alone. Consequently, it will be informing to make a study of the references to "the Holy Spirit" as they appear in the "We-Sections" (16: 10-17; 20: 5-15; 21: 1-18; 27: 1-28: 16); in Chapters 1-15, and in Chapters 16-28 (exclusive of the "we"-sections). This arrangement of material is suggested by the results of investigation along other lines of the source problems of Acts and the division represents generally accepted results as to the location of underlying sources.

We take the position, generally accepted by modern New Testament criticism, that the author of the "We"-sections is also the author of the entire book of Acts. Likewise, he is the author of the Third Gospel.¹

Harnack² has made a careful investigation of the accounts of miracles and supernatural works of the Spirit which appear in Acts. The suggestion for the following arrangement of our relevant material in the form of tabular exhibits came from his treatment, together with much information which was both stimulating and confirming for ~~the~~ our study of the Lucan use of the Holy Spirit in the Book of Acts.

¹ of Cadbury, H. J. "The Making of Luke-Acts". ("Luke-Acts best expressed the historical unity of the two books addressed to Theophilus", p. 11)
 " " "The Style and Literary Method of Luke".
 Hawkins, Sir J. "Horae Synopticae", pp. 140-154.

² Harnack, A. "Acts of the Apostles", Chap. IV.

Lucan References to "the Holy Spirit" or "the Spirit" (of God)

	Chapters 1-15	Chapters 16-28	"We"- Sections
I--Holy Spirit associated with miracles	2:4ff 4:31 5:3,9 9:17f 13:9	* 19:6	
II--Holy Spirit "filled with H.S." or similarly "full of the Holy Spirit"	* 2:4 4:8,31* 6:3,5,10 7:55 * 9:17 11:24 * 13:9 13:52		
III--The Power or Gift of the H.S.:- giving; receiving; baptized or anointed with; comes or falls upon individuals or groups	1:5,8 2:33,38 (2:17,18) 5:52 8:15,17,18,19 10:38,44,45,47 11:15,16 15:8	19:2 (twice) 19:6	
IV--More personal use of the Holy Spirit:- speaks, predicts, testifies, comforts, decides; Christians speak by H.S. or deceive the H.S. H.S. as active agent	1:2,16 * 2:4 4:25 * 5:3,9 * 6:10 7:51 8:29,39 9:31 10:19 11:12,28 13:2,4 15:28	16:6,7 20:23,28 (28:25)	21:4,11
Vp--Holy Spirit associated with visions	* 7:55		
* indicates this reference has been recorded once.			
Total number of separate references to the Holy Spirit	44	8	2
Total number arranged by tabular headings	53	8	2

One factor is immediately projected into prominence. If the Lucan usage of the Holy Spirit is preferential and represents editorial interpolation, it is strange that in Chapters 1-15 it is used 22 times as frequently as in the "We"-sections and occurs no more than 10 times altogether in the last half of Acts, when abundant opportunities extend the invitation to his facile pen in the form of similar subject-matter and narrative. This is another way of saying that it is difficult to account for the prominent appearance of "the Holy Spirit" in chapters 1-15 in the form of a definite tradition except upon a ^{written} source basis. A closer examination of the references in these three divisions of material will be rewarding.

(1) The "We"-Sections

The "we"-sections contain 99 verses comprising about 1/10 of the book. They contain

"one summary account of cases of healing, besides four accounts of singular instances of the same sort (including one case of raising from the dead); two instances of interference by the Holy Spirit to prevent a course of action; the appearance of a man of Macedonia in a vision; the appearance of the angel of the Lord in a vision; the Tyrians foretelling the future; Agabus foretelling the future; the daughters of St. Philip, who were prophetesses; two instances in which St. Paul foretold the future; -- 14 instances of a 'miraculous' character recorded in so small a space! In correspondence with this abundance we find in the first half of the book about 77 similar instances of a miraculous character and only 10 such instances in chaps. 16-28, omitting the we-sections."

The two references to the Holy Spirit in 21:4, 11 are integral parts of the incidents narrated and of which Luke was an eye-witness. In 21:4 the Tyrian Christians warn Paul "through the Spirit" against going to Jerusalem. These disciples themselves give assurances in speech, either with or without accompanying demonstrations to certify to Spirit-possession, that these warnings were of divine origin and inspiration, being due to the revelation of God to them through the Holy Spirit. The reference in

¹ Harnack, A. "Acts of the Apostles", pp. 133, 141

21:11 is still clearer. There it is Agabus himself, the Christian prophet, who speaks the words, "Thus saith the Holy Spirit" and Luke is both auditor and recorder. Certainly, neither of these simple reports shows any special interest or preference for the use of the Holy Spirit on the part of Luke. Rather (and the remainder of the "we" narrative sustains this supposition), he would not have mentioned the Holy Spirit at all in either of these places had not the Tyrian disciples and Agabus given the occasion.

The remainder of the "we" narrative contains subject matter similar to that found in the first half of Acts in connection with which "the Holy Spirit" is used. For example, when the father of Publius lay sick with the fever, "Paul entered in and prayed and laying his hands on him healed him" (28:8). There is no mention of the presence or healing ministry of the Holy Spirit. Yet Luke made earlier mention of the Holy Spirit in connection with the curing of Paul's blindness by Ananias (9:17). He has reported that when Peter and John laid their hands on the Samaritan Christians, "they received the Holy Spirit" (8:17). In narrating the conversion of the disciples of John the Baptist at Ephesus by Paul himself, Luke writes that "when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came on them". (19:6). We do not require consistency on the part of Luke but are only saying that if Luke had a special fondness for the use of "the Holy Spirit", it is unintelligible why he passed up such an obvious opportunity as this. Again, in connection with the two visions contained in the "we"-sections, there is no mention of the Holy Spirit.

In Paul's vision at Troas he sees standing a man of Macedonia (16:9f) and in 27:23 "an angel of God" appears in Paul's vision on shipboard. Yet Luke has associated the Holy Spirit with the vision of Stephen in 7:55. While the four daughters of Philip are mentioned as prophetesses without any occasion for use of "the Holy Spirit", Agabus, the prophet, speaks through

the Holy Spirit. But when Paul prophesies concerning the future in 27:24,26,31,34 he does so without the aid of the Holy Spirit.

In the "we"-sections, then, the Holy Spirit is associated with only two of the fourteen events of an exceptional nature which are therein recorded. Stories like the gift of tongues, the death of Ananias and Sapphira, the blinding of Paul and Elymas, all of which are associated with "the Holy Spirit", have no parallels in the "we"-sections. Again the "we"-sections make no express statement that any individual or group of persons is "filled with the Holy Spirit", which is one of the chief characteristics of the tradition preserved in chapters 1-15. Likewise, there are to be found in the "we" sections not one reference which would indicate the power and gift of the Holy Spirit as being given or received, or that it came upon or fell upon either individuals or groups.

This evidence presented by the "we"-sections indicates clearly that while Luke betrays an interest in incidents of an exceptional or 'miraculous' nature, he has no predisposition in favor of the Holy Spirit conception or the use of the term. He makes use of it twice and then only because it is transmitted to him as a part of the instance reported and comes from his source (in these instances oral). The only reasonable hypothesis to account for his different treatment of parallel subject matter here and in chapters 1-15 is that there his use of "the Holy Spirit" is determined for him by its inclusion in the source material of which he availed himself and transmitted faithfully.

(2) Chapters 16-28, (excluding "We" Sections)

In this section, making up about 4/10 of the contents of Acts, there are but 8 references to "the Holy Spirit" which group themselves about 4 incidents in all of which the central figure is Paul. In the narrative of Paul and the disciples of John at Ephesus, "the Holy Spirit" is used

three times (19:2,6). The summary account of the journey of Paul and Silas past Asia on the way to Troas mentions "the Holy Spirit" twice, (16:6,7). Paul's address to the elders at Miletus contains the use of "the Holy Spirit" in 20:23,28. In the concluding verses of Acts Paul introduces an Old Testament quotation with a familiar use of "the Holy Spirit", (28:26).

The proportion of usage in this section as compared with chapters 1-15 is just about the same as that of the "we" sections. This section comprises about 4/10 of the book and contains 3 references associated with four events recorded therein. The "We" sections make up about 1/10 of ~~Acts~~ the volume of Acts and contain 2 such references.

19:6 is the only reference to "the Holy Spirit" in association with works of an extraordinary or supernatural character. Here, speaking of the disciples of John, "when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came on them and they spoke with tongues and prophesied." One of the characteristics of this ⁽¹⁶⁻²⁸⁾ section is the very lack of references to works or events of supernatural character. Three of the ten such references in chapters 16-28 are found in Chapter 19.

Paul is equipped with power to perform special miracles here at Ephesus, according to the narrative. But this power is not attributed to "the Holy Spirit". Luke merely says, "and God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul" (19:11), where we should have a reasonable right to expect some such association of the Holy Spirit either as the efficient cause of the miracle or with the laying on of Paul's hands, as in 19:6. The miraculous powers of the handkerchiefs which had touched Paul and were, therefore, able to expel evil spirits, are not referred to the Holy Spirit, even by way of contrast to the evil spirits here mentioned, (19:12). After the fate of the sons of Sceva at the hands of the man with the evil spirit

became known to the Jews and Greeks of Ephesus, they magnified the name of the Lord and "fear fell upon them" but not "the Holy Spirit" (19:17). In that city the Christian gospel spread and the Christian community was increased but there is no mention of ~~the~~ any "the Holy Spirit" in connection with this expansion (19:20), as we might anticipate from Luke's summary statements in 4:31; 9:31; 13:52. Another splendid opportunity is passed by in connection with the earthquake at Philippi and the conversion of the jailer with his household. Quite in contrast is 4:31 where the earthquake is a sign of the divine presence and we read, "and when they had prayed, the place was shaken wherein they were gathered together, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and they spake the word of God with boldness". 16:20-34 omits any reference to the activity of the Holy Spirit either in connection with the earthquake, the inspiration of Paul, or the conversion of the jailer's household. It is neither given nor received; neither comes upon nor falls upon any of them, as the earlier records abundantly testify on similar occasions. We read only that the new Christians "rejoiced greatly, having believed in God." (16:34)

Although the argument from silence is not always a very effective one, in this instance it seems valid. It is difficult to explain the situation on any other ground than that Luke has no predisposition to interpolate or make insertion editorially of "the Holy Spirit". Rather, he makes use of it only when it is communicated to him as an integral part of his sources at the moment.

In this lengthy section there is not a single instance of any individual or group of Christians being "filled with the Holy Spirit", although there are many opportunities for such insertion if the writer had purposed to do so. "The Holy Spirit" occurs twice in a single verse, 19:2.

In response to Paul's inquiry, "Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed?" the disciples of John answered, "No, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Spirit was given" (margin "there is a Holy Spirit"). These two uses of "the Holy Spirit" as being given and being received are the only ones this section affords under category III. The remaining five references are included within the IVth category, where the Holy Spirit is regarded as an active agent with almost personal significance. It will be our judgment that their use here is because they were communicated to Luke by his source or sources.

Paul and Silas pass through the regions of Phrygia and Galatia because "the Holy Spirit" forbids them to speak in Asia (16:6), and when they attempt to enter Bithynia "the Spirit of Jesus" will not permit them. The next two references are in Paul's discourse to the elders at Miletus in which he declares "that the Holy Spirit testifieth unto me in every city" (20:23), that troubles and afflictions await him in Jerusalem, and wherein he urges the church leaders to exercise pastoral care and oversight: "take heed unto yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit hath made you bishops" (20:28).. The last use of "Holy Spirit" in Acts occurs in 23:25 where Paul introduces an O.T. quotation in the customary form, "Well spake the Holy Spirit through Isaiah the prophet unto your fathers".

As we shall see when we consider the bearing of this study of the Holy Spirit usage upon the problem of Luke's source material for Acts, it is neither necessary nor likely to suppose that Luke had a written source or sources before him for the composition of chapters 15-26, excluding the "We"-sections. Rather, he is reporting on the basis of oral communications from participants or eye-witnesses of the events recorded. These five references to the Holy Spirit must have come originally from Paul

and been communicated by him to Luke. Three of these are found in words attributed to Paul himself and the other two references are in narrative which most likely came from him in the first instance (or from Silas). With regard to the speeches of Paul under consideration, if Luke is giving a succinct summary report of Paul's actual words, it is Paul who made use of the Holy Spirit ⁿ and not Luke. Those who hold to the free editing of the speeches of Acts by Luke admit that with regard to the discourse at Miletus Luke is preserving intact the essential content of what actually was said or is saying appropriately that which should have been said.

The results of our study thus far allow as reasonable the judgment that the triple appearance of "the Holy Spirit" in these two speeches of Paul in chapters 20 and 28 indicate clearly that our author does not insert them editorially and freely but uses them because they were first used by Paul himself in their respective contexts.

(3) Chapters 1-15

It is within this section that we find 44 of the 54 referenced to "the Holy Spirit" contained in Acts. Herein the Holy Spirit is localized as a definite tradition emanating from Jerusalem and attached to the history of the Christian church from its beginning and on throughout the period of its early development. In fact, all that we know through express statement of the early history of Christianity in Jerusalem is inextricately bound up with this Holy Spirit tradition. It is the single thread which ties together all the varied incidents recorded in this section. As we have indicated previously, this Holy Spirit tradition has borrowed freely and generously from ancient Jewish Messianic hopes and thought concerning the Spirit of God. It is this Jewish-Christian Holy Spirit tradition emanating from the circle of Jerusalem Christianity which impresses itself upon the entire section and makes it homogeneous. This tradition is the

center about which the events of chapters 1-15 revolve.

Not only is the tradition made homogeneous by its characteristic Jewish-Christian basis of thought for the numerous and varied ideas connected with the presence and the operation of the Holy Spirit, but also by the dominant emphasis maintained throughout that both the Christian community in Jerusalem and the church as a whole are completely beneath the direct control and guidance of the Holy Spirit. Of this the Jerusalem church is so particularly conscious that the record of the expanding church as we have it is assimilated to the spiritual control of the spiritual leadership of the Jerusalem church, which in turn is divinely led by the Holy Spirit. Thus, it is the Spirit-filled apostles of the Jerusalem Church who recognize, approve, and further develop the work already begun as Christianity extends beyond the bounds of Jerusalem. The work in Samaria begun by Philip (although he is one of the seven Jerusalem church members and full of the Spirit and of wisdom, 6:3) is considered imperfect until Peter and John, the apostolic representatives of the Jerusalem Church, come down to visit this missionary project. Only then does "the Holy Spirit" divinely complete and sanction the ministry of conversion by its presence and activity. It is Barnabas, "a good man and full of the Holy Spirit" (11:24), an apostle (14:14) and a member of the Jerusalem community (4:36, 37), who is sent as a representative of that church to the Gentile Christian community at Antioch, where he remains to establish and further the growth of the church there, (11:22-26). Even the mission of Barnabas and Saul in chapters 13 and 14 requires the sanction of the Holy Spirit, represented officially by the Jerusalem apostles and the Jerusalem Church through its visitation, recognition, supervision, and regulation (Acts 15, particularly 15:28, "it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us"). In fact it is Peter, the leading member of the Jerusalem Church who is the first apostle to the Gentiles, set apart

for that purpose by the Jerusalem Church, according to 15:7.

"For the first time, from Acts 16 on begins what we may call the official mission approved by the entire church. The mission to the Gentiles and the Gentile church dominated by the personality of Paul is not only without further aid recognized and approved but ordered and set right by the Jerusalem apostles.... This indicates that the Gentile-Christian church is nothing less than an arbitrary human establishment. It is rather the organic expansion of the old community, for which in general no solely human will is made responsible: men were almost against their will organs or instruments of the divine purposes of salvation.¹

It is this dominating conviction of direct, complete, supernatural leading by the Holy Spirit which constitutes the unifying bond for the whole body of the narrative contained in chapters 1-15 and stamps it with the impress of the Jerusalem-church viewpoint and tradition. How directly the Holy Spirit laid hold upon the actions of men to guide them to the performance of the divine will is illustrated by Philip (8:29), who obeys the command of the Holy Spirit to join himself to the eunuch's chariot. Saul was converted almost against his will in the account in 9:1-19. Peter's own prejudices and judgment had to be overcome by the activity of God's Holy Spirit before he was led directly into the meeting with Cornelius. The entire account makes it clear that the cause and the process of Peter's movements as well as the results achieved were due to the Holy Spirit of God. This illustrates how Acts 8-9-10-11 are bound together by this single conviction of and obedience to divine leadership through the powerful, direct operation of the Holy Spirit.

The further importance of this notable attempt, represented by the Jerusalem Church tradition, to associate the divine sanction of the Holy Spirit and its direct leadership with the official recognition and supervision of expanding Christianity by the primitive Jerusalem Church will be indicated when we consider its bearing upon the problem of Luke's sources for Acts 1-15.

¹ J. Weiss, "Ueber die Absicht und literarischen Charakter des Apg." s. 25

It is religious history which is recorded in 1-15; rather, the history of the facts of religious experience. It is our problem to inquire whether Luke is originally responsible for introducing "the Holy Spirit" and this localized Holy Spirit tradition in Acts 1-15.

It is not our purpose to enter upon a psychological and historical investigation of the origins of Christianity. However, a brief paragraph is necessary to re-assert the truth of the claim that the facts of religion and religious experience are valid, historical facts. However fanciful and highly colored the description of these facts may be; however the description may be discounted and its value refused from the scientific viewpoint of historical probability; the fact which it attempts to describe is forever real and valid as a fact of life experience and, therefore, of history. "The Holy Spirit" is the language of essential religion and it is the history of the facts of religious life and experience which we meet here in Acts. The use of "the Holy Spirit" is the use of the best language available in the attempt to account for and to portray the indescribable reality and unpicturable fact of religious experience. What Bruce says concerning Paul may be applied equally well to Luke:-

"That the divine Spirit was present in the community of believers, revealing there His mighty power, was no discovery of the apostle Paul. The fact was patent to all. By the accounts the primitive Church was the scene of remarkable phenomena which arrested general attention, and bore witness to the operation of a cause of a very unusual character to which beholders gave the name of the Holy Ghost".¹

The entire section is luminous with the glow of the primary facts of religious experience. Hence, however rational and critical the attempt at investigation may be, the essential factor is a "feeling" of sympathetic under-

¹ A. B. Bruce, "St. Paul's Conception of Christianity", p. 243

standing of and appreciation for the profound reality of the facts of religious experience underlying the written record of Acts 1-15.

A glance at the tabular exhibit will show the varied and frequent usage of "the Holy Spirit". Sometimes, its presence and activities are attested by spectacular external phenomena and immediate results of extraordinary character and consequence. The Holy Spirit is associated with the supernatural, the miraculous, the extraordinary circumstances. There is the description of the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost in terms of external phenomena (2:4); the spectacular earthquake just preceding the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the company of believers in 4:31; the sudden deaths of Ananias and Sapphira (5:4,9); the miraculous cure of Paul's blindness by Ananias (9:17); and the sudden blinding of Elymas, the sorcerer, (13:9).

Side by side with these physical and extraordinary manifestations and a part of the same Holy Spirit tradition, is the long list of references to individuals or groups of Christians who are filled with the Holy Spirit (cf. Class 2). There are no less than 18 references to the fact that the power and gift of the Holy Spirit were given and received, came upon or fell upon individual Christians or groups of believers, (Class III). Again, we find 16 references to the Holy Spirit coming in or through a person, inspiring them to utterance and testimony or as active itself in prophesying, making decisions and choices (Class IV). In the case of Stephen it is associated with his heavenly vision. All of these forms of expression put together demonstrate a Christian viewpoint with regard to the Holy Spirit, which is thoroughly saturated with Jewish, Old Testament thought, as we have observed previously. This is primitive Jewish-Christianity expressing itself in Acts 1-15.

It is this living

experience of the overpowering possession of divine

spiritual power and the clear consciousness of the direct divine guidance over the life and destinies of the Christian community and movement which are remarkable. The spiritual control of the life of the early church was not a conclusion proceeding from later reflective thought in an attempt to account for the progress and rapid expansion of Christianity. It was primarily a vital experience and these varied and characteristic uses of "the Holy Spirit" are evidence of the fluid state of religious thought in its attempt to describe and account for the profound facts of living religious experience.

According to the rational demands of modern thought, it is the normal, the natural, the ordinary event or state of being which are attractive and valid. For the age of early Christianity, it was the abnormal and supernatural, the extraordinary, which were attractive and held in high regard. This reversal in the standards of judgment should be taken into account when we seek to determine the religious or historical value of the records contained in Acts 1-15. Perhaps Luke did make use of discerning historical imagination in reporting this early period and its religious life. It may likewise be that he was making use of source data of real historical value and which extolled these descriptions of Christian experience in highly colored form and which, for that very reason, were all the more impressive for early Christian thought. For us, in our thought of the Spirit of God as operative in present life, the plane of value ascends as the ethical fruits of the Spirit grow larger and declined as we consider the abnormal, extraordinary manifestations of religious experience, until we regard as irrational the idea that the activity of the divine Spirit in human life expresses itself in physical phenomena and disturbances of the natural order. For the first days of Christianity, the reactions of thought were just the opposite. For first-century Christians, external, physical phenomena

were thought to be clearer demonstrations of the activity of the Holy Spirit, which added to the reality of the religious experience of possession. The psychological manifestations were widely recognized and valued as visible signs of the presence and operation of the Holy Spirit. It was not until the time of Paul that the supremacy of the ethical was emphasized and established in the idea of the Holy Spirit, its presence and activity. A valuable suggestion of the psychological attitude of the primitive Christian toward the Holy Spirit, as we find this expression in Acts 1-15, may be taken from a treatment of the significance of the religious experience at Pentecost and its consequences, and may be presented here in brief.¹

When the initial impulse has been exceedingly startling in its character and immediate in some of the results, the tendency of an approximate contemporary account is to enhance the attendant circumstances, but for subsequent reflection, penetrating through the circumstances to the real phenomena, to reduce the emphasis on the externally marvellous and concentrate on the essential facts. Thus, there are three stages in the record of the Spirit's influence in the primitive community:-

(1) Attention is concentrated on the marvellous accompaniments which attended the original outpouring of the Spirit but were not repeated.

(2) Phenomena belonging to the physical order no longer appear, and those of a psychological ^{nature} ~~order~~ accompany religious experience. Now we hear of gifts of healing, prophecy, administration, as well as "speaking with tongues" which needs regulation.

(3) The importance of the psychological decreases and emphasis upon the ethical consequences of the primary religious experience increases. "The way in which the record in Acts preserves the features that marked the earliest stage is a point in favor of its historical character. Luke reproduced the story as he got it from someone who may have been in the company or present at the subsequent scene, regardless of the fact that the coming of the Spirit was no longer evidenced by the same physical phenomena. He laid himself open to the challenge: How do we know that the Spirit really comes now, seeing that these things do not happen now? He trusted the consciousness of the church to dismiss such a challenge with an appeal to religious and ethical experience."

All this, which may seem a wide departure from the purpose of our study, gives us valuable assistance in answering the question, Does the use of "the Holy Spirit" in Acts 1-15 come originally from Luke or is he faithfully transmitting a Holy Spirit tradition for which there is a primitive

¹ Scott, C. A. A., "What Happened at Pentecost?" (Essay IV in "The Spirit" edited by H. H. Streeter)

Christian written source basis?

We are reminded that Luke has no first-hand, personal knowledge of this "Holy Spirit" age of Christianity. He is removed from it by at least 30 to 50 years of time and by nationality, if not by the earlier manifestations of the religious experience of the Holy Spirit itself.¹ Is it likely that the Gentile writer (who in the "we"-sections shows no particular interest in the Spirit and in the remainder of Acts 15-28 only uses "the Holy Spirit" when it is communicated to him orally by his sources, could be so versatile and ingenious in his combined use of the historical imagination and literary skill as to orient himself in ancient Jewish thought of the Holy Spirit and weave into the data of primitive Christianity at his disposal the large number and great variety of uses of "the Holy Spirit" in such a way as to register a connected psychological and historical development of the usage and to construct a definite Holy Spirit tradition within the compass of Acts 1-15?

We have endeavored to show that "the Holy Spirit" usage in early Acts is an inseparable part of the data of primitive Christianity and accounts for the existence of these data in the form of a source or sources of which Luke made use. We have the record of the history of living and lively religious experience. There is the sense of unmeasured power up to this time unexperienced. There is the overmastering conviction of divine guidance and direct leadership. The record throbs with life. It is intense, vivid, vital, gripping. We question whether Luke was such a master litterateur that he could bring the dead past to life by harnessing deliberate effort to conscious purpose. It seems psychologically impossible. The careless judgment that Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" is a preferential, editorial usage, introduced appropriately by him because of a foni-

¹ "St. Luke was necessarily dependent upon tradition. The scene, upon which the primitive history of the church was enacted, was far removed from him, the Hellenist, not only in time and space, but also in temperament and spirit." (A. Harnack, "Acts of the Apostles", p. 164)

ness for the conception and term, has no basis in fact or evidence. The very opposite seems the only position supported by all the best evidence, both objective and psychological, internal and external. Luke uses "the Holy Spirit" in Acts 1-15 and transmits a Jewish-Christian Holy Spirit tradition localized therein and emanating from Jerusalem, because he found them in the source material used by him. Otherwise, his writing in the early part of Acts becomes a free composition based to some extent on second-hand, oral information with slight possibility that it could have come from eye-witnesses of the events recorded.

6. OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS

According to the distribution of references throughout the Book of Acts, we have made some important observations and findings in our consideration of Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" by relating the phrase to its context in the several locations.

(1) "The Holy Spirit" ("the Spirit"-meaning the spirit of God) occurs only twice in the "we"-sections; 8 times in the remainder of Acts 16-28; and 44 times in Acts 1-15.

(2) The "we"-sections (Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16) show Luke's proclivity for the spectacular and 'miraculous', containing 14 such instances in 99 verses, but no interest in the Holy Spirit as such. Even of his two uses of "the Holy Spirit" is due to the sayings of Christian prophets and not primarily to Luke. The remaining 12 instances, similar in content to many of those narrated in the earlier part of Acts where Luke has used "the Holy Spirit", do not make a single use of the idea or phrase, although they afford every opportunity for so doing.

(3) In the remainder of Chapters 16-28 we find only 8 references to the Holy Spirit. These center about 4 incidents in which Paul is the chief

character. Five of these references are probably communicated orally to Luke by Paul; the three relating to the Ephesian ministry may have come from Paul or have been communicated orally by some other Christian whose interest in the miraculous is congenial to Luke. Again, Luke passes over several invitations to make use of the Holy Spirit, which is unintelligible if he had any particular fondness for its use and had been accustomed to insert it editorially. However, the indication is clear in this section that he made use of "the Holy Spirit" in all eight instances because and only because it was communicated to him by his source.

(4) Chapters 1-15 localize "the Holy Spirit" as a primitive Jewish-Christian tradition emanating from Jerusalem. "The Holy Spirit" is the uniting bond of all the material contained in this section. In fact, it is inseparable from and responsible for the matrix of historical incident within this section. As it is presented to us, "the Holy Spirit" usage indicates a noticeable and dominant tendency on the part of the Jerusalem church to consider itself the official representative of the direct, living leadership of the Holy Spirit, and as such to see to it that expanding Christianity is directly inspired by and obedient to the divine Holy Spirit, of which Jerusalem Christianity is the visible representative and custodian. This Holy Spirit tradition, embodying 44 references in Acts 1-15, is so much a living part of the earliest age of Christianity; so thoroughly saturated with Old Testament Jewish thought; so dominant and unifying a feature of the entire section; that it is both historically and psychologically inevitable that Luke, a Gentile Christian who betrays elsewhere in Acts no personal acquaintance with or particular interest in the Holy Spirit, should be the first to introduce the phrase in its widely varying usage and the first to construct such a tradition as ap-

pears in Chapters 1-15. There is a very strong probability which amounts almost to certainty that the Holy Spirit tradition has a source basis for Luke in Chapters 1-15.

(5) Our Gospel findings confirm the results of our investigation of the use of "the Holy Spirit" in Acts. There we saw that "the Holy Spirit" usage has a definite written source basis in Mk and Q, both of which were used by Luke. Further, there is strong probability that Luke made use of such a source for "the Holy Spirit" references in the material peculiar to his gospel.

(6) The outstanding positive result of our analysis thus far is that we have shown beyond reasonable doubt that Luke used "the Holy Spirit" both in the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts only because it was communicated to him by his sources, whether oral or written. In this respect he transmitted his source data with fidelity.

IV. THE BEARING OF THIS STUDY UPON THE PROBLEM OF LUKE'S SOURCE MATERIAL

Our comparative study of the Lucan use of "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel and our intensive investigation of the usage in the Book of Acts have virtually established the position that such usage has a distinct source-basis and have directed us to look still more closely for the probable sources of which "the Holy Spirit" is a part. We inquire, What can "the Holy Spirit" tell us about the nature and character of the source material used by Luke for the writings of his gospel and Acts? In answer to this question we shall hope to show that the Lucan use of "the Holy Spirit" does assist the progress of investigation which seeks to define more closely the character and extent of Luke's early sources.

We are not unaware of the limitations of form-criticism, yet it is valid for supplying information of a stimulating, supplementary, or confirmatory sort, even if it does not determine origins. We shall hope to elude findings which will constitute some contribution to the progress of criticism upon the source-problems of the Lucan writings and furnish the incentive for further investigation along the lines suggested by our conclusions.

1. The Holy Spirit--Peter--Jerusalem Connection in Acts 1-15

We begin with Acts 1-15 because the bearing of our study upon this section will throw most light upon the character of Luke's sources not

only for this section but also for the remainder of his writings. The following exhibit of the 44 references to "the Holy Spirit" in Acts 1-15, arranged in the order of their appearance, shows clearly that there is a definite relationship, sustained throughout, between "the Holy Spirit" and Peter, centering at Jerusalem. This can be accounted for only on the basis that these data are enclosed in a written source or sources containing a primitive Jewish-Christian Holy Spirit tradition and used by Luke in the composition of the first half of Acts.

Reference	Incident	Chief Persons	Place	Context
Acts 1:2	Jesus' selection of 12	Jesus	Galilee	1:1-3
1:5	Jesus' appearance to 11	Jesus & 11	Jerusalem	1:4-5
1:8	Ascension	"	"	1:6-14
1:16	Judas' Successor elected	Peter	"	1:15-26
2:4	Pentecost	"	"	2:1-13
2:17}	Peter's Address to	"	"	2:14-36
2:18}	the Multitude	"	"	2:14-36
2:33}	At Pentecost	"	"	"
2:38	Results of Address	"	"	2:37-42
4:8	Before rel. authorities	Peter & Jn.	"	3:1-4:31
4:25	Xians. prayer	"	"	"
4:31	Assembly of Christians	Peter (Jn.)	"	"
5:3	Community of Goods	Peter (Ananias)	"	4:32-5:11
5:9	"	Peter (Sapphira)	"	"
5:32	Apostles before Council	Peter	"	5:17-42
6:3	Call of the Seven	The 12 & 7 (Stephen & Philip)	"	6:1-7
6:5	Names of the Seven	Stephen & Philip	"	"
6:10	Activity & Arrest	Stephen	"	6:8-15
7:51	Stephen's Address	"	"	7:1-53
7:55	Stoning of Stephen	"	"	7:54ff.
8:15	Conversion of	Peter (Jn) from Jer.	"	8:5-25
8:17	Samaritans	"	to	"
8:18	"	"	Samaria	"
8:19	"	"	"	"
8:29	Conversion of Eunuch	Philip	from Jer.	8:26-40
8:39	"	"	to Judea	"
9:17	Conversion of Saul	Saul	Damascus	9:1-30
9:31	Summary Statement	"the Church"	(Jerusalem) Judea, Galilee Samaria	9:31
10:19	Conversion of	Peter	Joppa-	10:1-48
10:38	Cornelius	"	Caesarea	"
10:44	Coming of Holy Spirit	"	"	"
10:45	Amazement of bystanders	"	"	"
10:47	Water Baptism suggested	"	"	"
11:12	Address of Justification	"	Jerusalem	11:1-18
11:15	before	"	"	"
11:16	Jerusalem Church	"	"	"
11:24	Church at Antioch estab.	Barnabas	Antioch (from Jer)	11:19-26
11:28	Jer. prophets to Antioch	Agabus	Antioch (from Jer)	11:27-30
13:2	Commission to missy. service,	Barnabas, Saul	Antioch	13:3
13:4	Sent forth	Saul	Cyprus	13:4-12
13:9	Blinding of Elymas	Saul (Paul)	Paphos	"
13:52	Church growth in Antioch (Pis)	Church	Antioch (Pis)	13:13-52
15:8	Church Conference	Peter	Jerusalem	15:8-29
15:28	Decree	(Apostles & Elders)	"	"

Peter is mentioned either by direct expression or by clear implication in 28 of these 44 references. Jerusalem is explicitly the scene of action upon 24 occasions and every reference except the 4 in Acts 13 can be connected with Jerusalem.¹ A glance at "the Holy Spirit" text within its context indicates that practically the entire section is knit together by this ever recurring idea and phrase. In Acts 1-15 Peter is the central figure and the dominant personality in the earliest Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem.

This is a striking phenomenon for which some explanation must be made. Our first task is to show what the written records before us intend to represent as having happened and not to explain the actual happenings underlying the present written narrative. The representation which is clearly intended in Acts 1-15, read from the record before us which bears the impress of the Jewish-Christian, Jerusalem, Holy-Spirit tradition, is that of the extension of Christianity among Hellinists (not pure Gentiles) as a natural outgrowth from the first Christian community in Jerusalem. The Christian missionary activity among those attracted to Judaism in Samaria, Judea, Caesarea, and Antioch is pictured as sponsored, approved, supervised, and furthered by the first Christian church at Jerusalem through its appointed leaders. The picture given as in Acts 1-15 is that of the Christian missionary movement among Jews, Hellinists, and non-Gentile "attractionists" to Judaism, starting at Jerusalem. The new expansion movement is still led and supervised by Jerusalem Christianity, and all, in turn, are divinely led and controlled by the Holy Spirit.

In its broad outlines the reconstruction of this presentation will

¹ A. Harnack, "Acts of the Apostles", p. 138, after listing the scenes of action in Acts 1-15 says, "This survey seems to teach us that with the exception of 13:1-14:28, a section which begins and ends at Antioch, we are throughout concerned with traditions connected with Jerusalem."

be about as follows:-

Throughout Chapters 1-7 the record has to do only with the Christian life and growth of the Jerusalem community, under the direct, divine leadership of the Holy Spirit, to be sure, but also under the important human leadership of Peter, who is the chief person about whom the action revolves. At 6:1 we come upon an important event. In the Jerusalem community a dispute arises between the two classes of Jews making up the Christian church, which is the occasion for the choice of seven Hellenists to meet the practical need. They are all men "of good report, full of the Spirit and wisdom" (6:3). Stephen, "a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit" (6:7), who, it is to be noted, is a Hellenist and a member of the Christian church in Jerusalem, is the important personage throughout this section. Philip, another Hellenist and also a member of the Jerusalem Christian church, is another of the seven administrators. Judging from the records we have of the activities of these two men, they are evangelists as well as administrators - at least it is as proclaimers of the gospel that they are important and to be remembered. Stephen's evangelistic labors arouse the opposition and wrath of the orthodox Hellenists. This leads to a persecution in which Stephen is put to death and the Hellenistic Christians of Jerusalem are obliged to flee from the city. Evidently the Jewish Christians under the leadership of "the apostles" are allowed to remain in Jerusalem unmolested (8:1). The exiled Christians are scattered throughout Judea and Samaria, leaving the Christian movement in Jerusalem to the oversight and leadership of the apostles. There are important consequences which follow the persecution of Stephen. The extension of Christianity among the Hellenists and "God-fearers" in Samaria, Judea, and Antioch is due to the activity of those who were compelled to leave

Jerusalem. Philip, the Jerusalem church-member and missionary, carries on the work of evangelization in Samaria (8:4-13) and opens up that field to the Gospel. But it requires that Peter (and John) come down as the representatives of the Jerusalem church to approve and establish the work begun by Philip. Here enters that strain of Petrine Holy Spirit tradition associated with the primitive Jerusalem community. This new body of Samaritan Christians have only been baptized with water "in the name of the Lord Jesus" at the hands of Philip. They receive the necessary Holy Spirit baptism at the hands of Peter and John when these Jerusalem church leaders visit them and complete the work begun by Philip (8:14-25).

It is clearly portrayed here that the Jerusalem Christian church founded the Christian movement in Samaria, first through the missionary activity of one of its members, and then by accepting the responsibility of establishing the Christian community with these borders. It is to be observed that investment with the Holy Spirit is considered the necessary requisite for establishing and completing the process of Christianization begun by Philip, and this, we have seen, is associated with the primitive Christian church at Jerusalem. The account of planting the Gospel in Samaria is presented from the Jerusalem Church standpoint and bears the clear impress of the Holy Spirit tradition of that church.

There follows another incident from the record of Philip's evangelistic efforts in 8:26-40. The conversion to Christianity of the black-skinned "Ethiopian eunuch", the Egyptian eunuch, is selected by our author as marking another forward movement of Christianity, this time in Judea. The promise of Jesus in 1:8 "Ye shall receive power when the Holy Spirit is come upon you: and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and unto the uttermost part of the earth (iani?)"

is being fulfilled by our author's conscious method of selecting incidents from his available source material to illustrate and serve his purpose. The only connection that this seemingly isolated account of the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch has with the context is that which unites it with the other incident recorded of Philip's evangelistic work in Samaria, and in both instances with the missionary activity of the church at Jerusalem, of which Philip is a member.

Another consequence of the persecution centering about Stephen's evangelistic zeal is the conversion of Saul reported in 9:1-30. The account begins and ends in Jerusalem and in 9:26-30 we have the association of the incident with the church at Jerusalem. Most important is the first mention here of the connection between Barnabas and Saul, an association which indicates a literary connection in written form, as we shall see. When Saul comes to Jerusalem as a Christian, he tries to associate with the Jerusalem Christians but they will not believe that he is a Christian, with fresh memory of his reputation as a zealous persecutor of Christians. Then it is that Barnabas champions the cause of Saul and wins over the apostles to his side with the result that Saul is received into the Jerusalem church and enabled to continue his Christian testimony, begun at Damascus, among the Hellenists of Jerusalem. Then their hostility expresses itself in a plot to kill him, the Jerusalem Christians accompany him to Caesarea and send him away to Tarsus. Thus, the first of the three accounts of Saul's conversion is that which is definitely connected with Barnabas and the Christian church at Jerusalem.

Acts 9:32-11:18 continues the Petrine narrative and reveals Peter on a missionary journey in northern Judea and Samaria. The chief significance

of this narrative is to portray the signal importance of the conversion of Cornelius. The entire incident registers the interest and the standpoint of the Jerusalem Christian church. While it shows on the face of it that the significant extension of the Christian movement to include the household of this important Gentile "God-fearer" in Caesarea is occasioned by the leading apostle of the Jerusalem church and the event is approved with joy by that body (11:18), it is evident that there were practical difficulties which only the strongest arguments for justification could overcome. This long, detailed account of the entire episode is perfectly intelligible, and only so, if we regard it as a necessary, important part of the Holy Spirit tradition of the Jerusalem Church. Peter is responsible for the conversion to Christianity of the first non-Semitic, "God-fearing" Gentile. A careful, detailed explanation and justification are necessary to win over the opposition of "these who were of the circumcision" and who contended with Peter upon his return to Jerusalem saying, "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them", (11:2,3). Not only in chapter 11 does Peter "expound to them in order concerning everything which had happened" (11:4), but chapter 10 omits no detail concerning the cause, the process, and the effects of the entire matter. There the account proceeds to establish clearly that from beginning to end Peter is obeying the highest, direct authority of the Holy Spirit of God which led him into the situation and throughout the entire experience. Peter is portrayed as the almost unwilling yet obedient instrument of this highest authority and guide, the Holy Spirit of God. It is God's will and work which are accomplished here. Cornelius and his household receive the gift of the Holy Spirit and begin to speak with tongues and to magnify God! This is Peter's only justification and certain defense as he lays the whole matter before the Jerusalem

Church in Acts 11. In a step-by-step manner he describes the whole series of events. He has six companions¹ with him as witnesses (11:12) to the truth of his statements. But the most convincing witness is that of the operative power of the Holy Spirit itself. The divine proof which swept away all human prejudice and protest was that while Peter was proclaiming the gospel to them "the Holy Spirit fell on them, even as on us at the beginning" (11:15). Thereupon, Peter further reinforces his argument by a quotation from Jesus himself (11:16 repeats 1:5). "There is nothing to do but to justify Peter's activity on behalf of the gospel as a direct act of God through the power of the Holy Spirit. Peter's position is unassailable. "If then, God gave unto them the like gift we received when we believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I could withstand God?" (11:17). "Then it is that the church at Jerusalem recognizes this startling expansion of the Christian movement as a wholly divine and direct act of God through the will of the power and guidance of His Holy Spirit. This entire account from 9:32-11:18 is an integral part of a Jerusalem church tradition and the use here by Luke of this lengthy account, which is narrated in detail in chapter 10 and then justified by another detailed explanation in chapter 11, in both of which accounts the Holy Spirit tradition alone gives point and significance to the event, is quite unintelligible except as Luke is here transmitting an important narrative from out the records of the Jerusalem Christian church. It is the Christian church at Jerusalem which is responsible for, is interested in, and which accepts responsibility for this expansion of Christianity in Caesarea.

The third consequence of the persecution attending the activities of Stephen and thereby linking the Jerusalem church up with another missionary project, is the establishment of a Christian church in Syrian Antioch.

¹ It is incredible that Luke should have manufactured this detail.

Again, it is particularly to be observed, the founders are members of the Jerusalem Church who were scattered abroad at the time of the persecution (11:19). But more important is the fact that this new piece of missionary work was among the Hellenists. In the light of the presentation here, wherein the Jerusalem Christian church establishes, partners, and closely supervises the Antiochian mission, we are to read ¹ἡλικιστοῖς in 11:20 with ²ἡλικιστοῖς for ἡλικιστοῖς. It is with the Hellenists and not the Hebrews that missionary activities of these members of the Jerusalem Christian church are engaged. Not until the activities of Barnabas and Saul in Pisidian Antioch (13:46) is the gospel for the first time extended to the GENTILES (τὰ ἔθνη) and it is this event which precipitates the conference at Jerusalem in chapter 15, as we shall have occasion to indicate. The confusion of the two Antiochs is probably responsible for an early scribal and textual error which made Syrian Antioch rather than Pisidian Antioch the scene of the first Gentile Christianity. Perhaps the prestige and influence of this prominent Christian church in Syrian Antioch, the flourishing and famous metropolis, had much to do with shaping the tradition. But because the members of the new movement were first called "Christians" in this Antioch (11:26) is no occasion for leaping to the conclusion that they must have been purely Gentile Christians. As far as the evidence in Acts 11-15 permits us to see, a new mission among Hellenists was established at Syrian Antioch and the first scene of Gentile Christianity was Pisidian Antioch (13:46)¹. According to our present reading of 11:20 Paul is not the first missionary to these "Gentiles" but some obscure, unnamed Christians who were driven from Jerusalem at the time of the persecution which arose about Stephen. It is 13:46 which introduces Paul as the first Christian missionary to the Gentiles.

¹ "In view of the great importance and future position of the church at Antioch, it is not unlikely that Luke should carefully note the elements of which it was originally composed. The real turning-point in the sphere of Peter and Paul is not yet, but in 13:46" (R. Knowling, "Acts" in Expositor's Greek Testament, II, p. 288)

This Antiochean tradition of 11:19f is related from the standpoint of the Christian Church at Jerusalem, which regards the church at Antioch as a missionary outpost composed of a mixed congregation of Jewish-Christians and Christianized Hellenists. The Antiochean church is presented in the account of Acts as recognized, approved, instructed, supervised, and furthered by the Christian church at Jerusalem. When the news comes to Jerusalem that the Jewish Christians and the Christian Hellenists are meeting together in the fellowship of ~~the~~ a Christian church (the principle illustrated in an individual way by Cornelius now extended and applied in a group way), Barnabas is delegated by the Jerusalem church to look into the situation. Favorably impressed, he goes to Tarsus and succeeds in persuading Saul to return with him to the work at Antioch. For an entire year these two co-laborers in the leadership of the Antiochean church. (11:22-26). While we note in passing the association of Barnabas and Saul once more, still closer contacts are established with Jerusalem Christianity. Prophets come down from Jerusalem (11:27) and evidently remain there for in 13:1 there are prophets and teachers at Antioch. Teachers come from Jerusalem in 15:1, and Judas and Silas, both of whom are prophets, (15:32) are sent along with Barnabas and Saul after the Jerusalem conference.

The Antiochean church is further attached to the Jerusalem Christian church by the Holy Spirit tradition expressed in 13:2f. It is this direct dependence upon the divine guidance and will revealed through the Holy Spirit which is characteristic of the Jewish-Christianity of the primitive Jerusalem church. Here Barnabas and Saul are directly commissioned by the Holy Spirit and sent forth by the Holy Spirit (13:2,4). Although it is true that 13:1-14:28 begins and ends at Antioch, the extended narrative in which Luke deliberately features Paul is still a part of the

Jerusalem tradition regarding the Antiochean mission and is viewed from the standpoint of the Jerusalem church (as we shall see when we consider the importance of the Barnabas-Saul relationship which holds together Acts 13-14). It is the act of 13:46, where the apostles turn to the Gentiles, which is reported to the home church upon the return of the missionaries (14:27). The question of practical missionary policy is a disputed one and out of a warm discussion between Saul and Barnabas on the one hand and the teachers who came down to Antioch from Jerusalem on the other, the advice of the Jerusalem church is sought (15:1,2).

In quest of practical advice Barnabas and Saul come to the leaders of the Jerusalem church. This is the occasion for the conference at Jerusalem reported in chapter 15 where the entire matter is viewed and presented from the Jerusalem standpoint. It is Peter who rises to the defense of Barnabas and Paul and emphasizes the divine purpose and the direct guidance of God in this new extension of the Christian movement to the Gentiles (15:7-11). "God, who knoweth the heart, beareth them witness, giving them the Holy Spirit even as he did unto us." (15:8). It is the possession and witness of the Holy Spirit which validates this new departure. The record of the participation in the conference by Peter and James is extensive beside that of Barnabas and Paul, whose testimony is dismissed in a sentence (15:12). The judgment of James is favorably received by the apostles and elders and all the Jerusalem church and is incorporated in the letter which contains an appropriate reference to the Christian attitude at Jerusalem toward direct dependence upon the inspiration and counsel of the Holy Spirit (15:28), "For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us". This direct inspiration and counsel of the Holy Spirit is acknowledged and affirmed by the best judgment of the church leaders. This letter is entrusted to Judas and Silas, who

accompany Paul and Barnabas to Antioch where the reading of the letter before that church occasions rejoicing. Judas and Silas, both prophets, continue with the brethren at Antioch for some time exhorting and confirming them in the gospel before returning to Jerusalem (15:30-34).

Thus, in the record preserved to us, the Antiochean Christian mission and church are established by members of the Christian church at Jerusalem, recognized, approved, supervised, partnered, and finally ordered and set right by the Jerusalem church and its leaders.

We have read nothing into the written record of Acts 1-15 but have seen emerging, in connection with the Holy Spirit tradition, the presentation of the development of Christianity as the story of Christian missionary expansion within the Jerusalem church itself. This expansive Christian movement in Samaria, Judea, Caesarea, and Antioch embraces Jews, Hellenists, and non-Semites who are attracted by certain features of Judaism. It stops short of fostering an actual and purely Gentile Christian mission. This step is first taken by Paul and Barnabas (13:46) and marks the opening of a new era with the beginnings of a distinctly Gentile Christianity under the dominant leadership of Paul in 15:41.

2. Luke's Sources for Acts 1-15

If we are correct in the presentation of the Christian movement in Acts 1-15 from the standpoint of the Jerusalem Christian church, we must logically regard Luke's subject-matter as derived from source material connected with that branch of Christianity. In our consideration of the sources of which Luke made use, we shall hope to indicate that throughout chapters 1-15 Luke is drawing upon documentary source material which represents the tradition of the primitive and apostolic Christian

church in Jerusalem. We shall find that just as in his characteristic manner in the Gospel Luke made use of this tradition in the way to suit best his purpose in writing the Book of Acts.

It is the subject-matter of chapters 1-15 which is striking, not on its own account but only in comparison with the "we"-sections and the remainder of chapters 16-28. We have already quoted Harnack on page 134 to the effect that there are about 77 instances of a 'miraculous' nature in this section, while the "we"-sections contain 14 such instances and the remainder of chapters 16-28 record only 10. It is this almost total absence of such material (excepting chapter 19) which is remarkable and characteristic of Acts 16-28¹. This interesting situation can lead to only one and that a very important conclusion: that this difference is due entirely to a difference of sources for chapters 1-15 and the second half of Acts, which sources Luke reports with fidelity. This finding, which emerges from our investigation thus far, is so important that it justifies the following well-reasoned and generous quotation:-

"It is clear that St. Luke... possessed for the first half of his book a source or sources (oral or written) WHICH WAS CONGENIAL TO HIS OWN PECULIAR TEMPERAMENT. On the other hand it is also clear that for the second half of his book he did not possess such sources (except what is told us of Ephesus), but only had at his disposal simple records into which he has inserted nothing except two conventional accounts of visions which illustrate the development of the plot. It cannot be otherwise; for if he himself had introduced the supernatural element into chapters 1-15, it is unintelligible why he should have refrained from doing the same thing in the second half, except, or almost only except, where he himself was an eye-witness. That the parts of his narrative where the colouring is most sober are not the we-sections, but the accounts of St. Paul's visits to Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, Jerusalem (the last visit), Caesarea, and Rome, is a convincing proof³ that his narrative is kept in close accordance with sources.

¹ "In the whole subject-matter of the second half of Acts; with the exception of the we-sections and of the repeated narrative of St. Paul's conversion, which may be neglected--miraculous episodes do not occur, as organic elements of the context except in the account of St. Paul's ministry in Ephesus (19:8ff)." (A. Harnack, "Acts of the Apostles", p. 143)

² Luke shows marked proclivities for the miraculous but not for "the Holy Spirit" and its connotations.

³ A. Harnack, "Acts of the Apostles", pp. 143-144.

The very fact that Luke is predisposed in favor of the miraculous but not inclined to the use of "the Holy Spirit" as such indicates that if Acts 1-15 comes from a source which was particularly appealing to Luke because of the extraordinary, supernatural character of its contents, this same source must likewise have contained the references to "the Holy Spirit" (in the conception of which Luke was not particularly interested) which Luke transmits because and only because he is faithful to his sources, and "the Holy Spirit" in its usage therein appears as a supernatural power which is operative in extraordinary ways in and through the life of the early church.

On quite different grounds than those of general linguistic evidence; of Lucan Style; of close familiarity with Christian origins and beginnings by a non-participant and non-observer; and of the existence of a well-defined, definitely localized Holy Spirit tradition, it has been shown that Acts 1-15 is a homogeneous entity and that its source material preserves a coloring which was not impressed upon it in the first place by our author, Luke.

"The circumstance that in chapters 1-15 the supernatural element is so abundant, indeed is wanting in no single chapter, is accordingly a proof that we have here a body of tradition, ~~of~~ homogeneous in its treatment of the supernatural, which had been transmitted to the author in a form and with a coloring that were congenial to his temperament. That this form and coloring belonged to the source itself... follows not only from the fact that the supernatural element is almost entirely absent from the second half of the book (excluding the we-sections and chapter 19) but still more clearly from the fact that while there is much in common between chapters 1-15 and the we-sections in their attitude to the supernatural there is much more of the supernatural in chapters 1-15 than in the we-sections" (In the ratio of "7" to 14).¹

¹ Harnack, A. "Acts of the Apostles", pp. 144-145

(1) "Acts of Peter"

We are in a position to inquire the character of Luke's source material in Acts 1-15. That the greater part of the tradition transmitted with general fidelity by Luke came from written sources seems certain. Among such sources is one that we may call the "Acts of Peter". As we consider the Petrine material in Acts 1-15 and its clear arrangement in blocks, it is very evident that Luke is making use of some considerable collection of connected data featuring Peter but is not giving us all the information at his disposal - only those selections which illustrate and support his main purpose in writing.

The Petrine data appear in alternate blocks of material. In between are blocks of other source material which evidently represent different traditions and constitute different sources. Thus, are featured the following persons about whom the narrative material is grouped:-

Sections	Persons	Place
Acts 1-5	Peter	Jerusalem
6:1-8:4	Stephen	"
8:5-13	Philip	Samaria
8:14-25	Peter	"
8:26-40	Philip	Judea
9:1-30	Saul (Barnabas)	Damascus-Jerusalem
9:32-11:18	Peter	{ Lydda-Joppa-Caesarea Jerusalem
11:19-21	{ Hellenistic Christians from Jerusalem	Antioch
11:22-30	Barnabas & Saul	Antioch-Jerusalem
12:1-19	Peter	Jerusalem
12:25-15:1-5, 12	Barnabas & Saul	from Antioch
15:6-11, 13-29	Peter & James	Jerusalem

Luke's methods of treating the source material used in his Gospel are well known. Observations of such treatment, particularly with respect to Mark, may be stated in some such conclusions as these:-

(1) Luke inserts his source material in considerable blocks.

Usually he follows one source until some common detail allows him to take up another source at what seems to him the same point.

(2) Luke tries to preserve the original order of his source material so far as possible.

(3) Luke usually avoids conflation. With a duplicate account before him, he makes a choice of one and follows it to the exclusion of the other.

(4) As far as possible Luke tries to fit his narratives together in the historical order of events. In turning from one source to another he seeks some common incident or geographical hint as the connecting link.

(5) He freely makes stylistic improvements in his source material. He is freest in his treatment of narrative material, less free in transmitting discourse intact, and most faithful in reporting sayings of Jesus.

(6) His literary methods may change the form of his source data in relatively unimportant ways but he preserves the essential content with fidelity.

We are not surprised to find that apparently Luke makes about the same use of his sources for Acts. We are concerned particularly with the fact that the use of the "block" system prevails. He follows one source for a time, then lays it aside in favor of another source, only to resume it again as it best suits the progressive realization of his purpose. The above tests are met well in the Petrine source material.

For the moment let us consider Acts 1-5 as a single block of solid Petrine material, with no regard for primary or secondary tradition therein. Peter is the dominant figure and the central personality in the early

¹ See H. J. Cadbury, "The Sources of Luke's Petrine Narrative," p. 58 ff., 14, 19
Streeter, B. H.: "The Four Gospels," p. 175

Jewish-Christian community of Jerusalem. We have noted already his importance in connection with the activity and the operations of the Holy Spirit. The next block of Petrine data, 8:14-25, is a part of the same tradition represented in 3:1-5:10, for "Peter and John" (8:14) are mentioned as coming down from Jerusalem in connection with the new Christian movement in Samaria inaugurated by Philip. Peter is still the important leader and the powerful representative of the Jerusalem Church, whose presence and ministrations on behalf of the new converts attend the coming of the Holy Spirit upon them. The summary statement of 8:25, that they preached the gospel in many Samaritan villages on the return journey to Jerusalem, indicates that Luke has more extended information but is here selecting only this important instance to serve his purpose.

When we meet Peter again in 9:32-11:13, he is on a preaching tour which takes him to Lydia, Sharon, Joppa, and Caesarea. The healing of Aeneas at Lydia (9:32-35) and the raising of Dorcas (9:36-43) make no mention of "the Holy Spirit" in connection with these wondrous acts but they are recorded by Luke because he found them in his Petrine source and, in view of his special fondness for the supernatural and extraordinary, they were too good to omit. They are a part of the primary Petrine tradition occurring in Luke's source just before the record of the Caesarean narrative and the Cornelius event.¹ Peter is at Jerusalem in 8:25, while in 9:32 he is on a tour of northern Judea. We have no record of his whereabouts or activities between 8:25 and 9:32. Foakes-Jackson would introduce 12:1-17 before 9:32 in the Petrine tradition, since Peter's imprisonment and escape occurred in 44 A.D. and before the famine in Jerusalem which did not occur until 45 or 46 A.D.²

¹ "In spite of its crudity 9:36-43 is fixed in form and ministers to no special tendency. The events recorded do not take place in Jerusalem but in Lydda and Joppa and the neighborhood" (Harnack: "Acts of Apostles" p. 152).

² "Acts 9:32 suddenly introduces Peter as journeying through the whole country, but there is no explanation as to how he came to be doing so. In 12:1-17, inserted before 9:32, an admirable connection is given." (Foakes-Jackson: "The Beginnings of Christianity" II, p. 156).

Peter's address of justification upon his return to Jerusalem in 11:2ff gains the hearty approval and sanction of the Jerusalem Church, which "glorified God because salvation had come to the Gentiles also" (11:18) but not before he had marshalled the strongest evidence to show how the entire procedure was inspired, directed, and accomplished by God through the direct presence and activity of His Holy Spirit. Was it at this time that Peter was commissioned by the Jerusalem Church as an apostle to the God-fearing "Gentiles"? It appears in 12:1-19 that Peter is no longer the leader of the Jerusalem Christian church. His place seems to have been taken by James at this time (12:17). The last reference to Peter in 15:6ff indicates that James is the head of the Jerusalem church, (15:13, 19), while Peter in his remarks refers to his previous selection by the Jerusalem church to be an apostle to the "Gentiles" (15:7, 14). How Peter happens to be in Jerusalem at the time of this church conference, we are not told. It is impressive that he champions the cause of Barnabas and Paul and is the chief spokesman on their behalf. After this Jerusalem conference, Peter is not mentioned again in Acts.

As our study comes withⁱⁿ the field of "form criticism", we are not able to resolve the block of Petrine source tradition in Acts 1-5 into its component parts by merely applying the test of "Holy Spirit" usage, although there is much evidence of the interweaving of primary and secondary tradition herein.¹ Our findings indicate that the Holy Spirit tradition is grounded in the religious experience and consciousness of the disciples of Jesus from the post-resurrection days, as a promise and assurance given them by Jesus (Lk 24:49; Acts 1:4, 5, 8) and that Peter is prominently mentioned in connection therewith from the very beginning. There can be no doubt of the conviction and the certainty on the part of the disciples

¹ For example, cf. Foakes-Jackson-Lake "Beginnings of Christianity" Part I, Vol. I, p. 137ff. Harnack, A. "The Acts of the Apostles", pp. 162ff.

that the promised outpouring of the Holy Spirit of God occurred in connection with Pentecost. However secondary may be the tradition as preserved to us, there is a historical basis of profound religious experience associated directly with this occasion which left an indelible impression of conviction and assurance. On this account we cannot consider Harnack's suggestion that Acts 4:31 presents the record of the original occasion and experience of the outpouring of the Spirit.¹ For some basic reason the outpouring of the Holy Spirit was definitely connected with the day of Pentecost in the earliest tradition of the primitive Jerusalem Christian community. Beyond this we cannot go in our study. No doubt there are at least two strains of tradition in Acts 1-7, of which 3:1-6:16 represents a primary tradition.² However, all we can bring to bear upon the problem of these sources is to say that the Holy Spirit tradition is intimately bound up with both and favors the tradition behind Acts 1 and 2, even though the account of the underlying experience is presented to us in the heightened form of secondary tradition.

By remaining within the limits of our investigation, we are able to assign the following sections to the "Acts of Peter": - Acts 1-3; 8:14-26; 9:32-11:18; 12:1-19; 15:6-11; 13-29.

(2) "Acts of Barnabas (and Saul?)"

The dominant Jerusalem church tradition underlying Acts 1-15 embodies another written source tradition which features Barnabas and may be called the "Acts of Barnabas (and Saul?)". Saul is mentioned often enough in this tradition to suggest parenthetically that the primary tradition may have included his activities along with those of Barnabas: - i.e., as long as he was active in the missionary service of the Jerusalem church and up to the time of separation on account of John Mark (15:36ff.).

¹ A. Harnack, "Acts of the Apostles", p. 180

² *ibid.*, pp. 179-186



The reading of "the Holy Spirit" texts in their respective contexts shows us the importance of this man(who was "full of the Holy Spirit") in the annals of Jerusalem church history. He is always and only associated with the Jerusalem church tradition. When that tradition is dropped, we hear no more of Barnabas. He is introduced to us in 4:36,37 as a prominent member of the early Jerusalem community of Christians. This looks like a Lucan insertion here into the Petrine narrative concerning the community of goods in the earliest days of the Jewish-Christian church. He next appears in 9:27 as the spokesman for Saul, who is received into the circle of the Jerusalem Christians through the good offices of Barnabas, who is influential with the apostolic leaders of that body. Our next meeting with him is in 11:22 where he is delegated by the Jerusalem church to visit the new Christian mission in Antioch. He is described in 11:24 as "a good man and full of the Holy Spirit". His stay and Christian labors among the Antiochean Christians were so productive of results that he needed assistance in caring for the work. He made a visit to Tarsus and returned with Saul and together they labored a year in the joint Christian ministry at Antioch. It is Barnabas' initiative in helping Saul at Jerusalem (9:27) and in securing his assistance in the Christian work at Antioch (11:26) which bring the two together for a larger joint work of Christian missionary enterprise that extends through 15:36. Hereafter they are mentioned together in a connection which indicates that while Barnabas is mentioned first in the tradition and Saul is regarded as his assistant, the order of names is inverted by Luke in his obvious desire to emphasize the growing importance of Saul, (Paul). This tendency accounts for Luke's failure to tell us anything about Barnabas and his eagerness to relate everything about Paul.

In 11:30 "Barnabas and Saul" are sent by the church at Antioch to Jerusalem. In 12:25 "Barnabas and Saul" return to Antioch from Jerusalem bringing with them John Mark. Thereupon, the references to the activities of Barnabas and Saul are frequent and complete, so far as Saul is concerned. 13:1 lists the names of prophets and teachers who were in the church at Antioch. In the list of five names, Barnabas comes first and Saul is last. In 13:2 the order is "Barnabas and Saul". In 13:7 Sergius Paulus calls to him "Barnabas and Saul". Coincident with the Lucan change of name from the Jewish Saul to his Gentile name, Paul, and the departure of John Mark for Jerusalem (13:13), Barnabas' traveling companion is always referred to as Paul and Luke pushes Barnabas into the background. "Paul and Barnabas" occur more often now than "Barnabas and Paul". In 13:13 it is "Paul and his companions" who set sail from Paphos. Barnabas is only a figure-head, if we judge from Luke's presentation here. Paul gets all the write-up and by his aggressive prominence, we gain the impression that he is the only one of the party to do things. But it is very evident that Luke is intentionally featuring Paul at the expense of Barnabas, and the fact that there are intermittent references to "Barnabas and Paul" indicates that Luke is preserving a tradition in which the names are mentioned in this order, even though he is telling only half the story. "Paul and Barnabas" occurs in 13:43, 46, 50. The primary order, "Barnabas and Paul", occurs in 14:12, 14, while in 14:20 Paul goes "with Barnabas to Derbe". Chapter 15 uses both orders, "Paul and Barnabas" in 15:2 (twice), 22, 35; the original order, "Barnabas and Paul" in 15:12, 25.

It is this frequent reappearance of Barnabas, especially in the combination "Barnabas and Saul", which suggests a written source embodying these data which center about his personality. The clearest indication of this written source basis for these data attached to the activities of

Barnabas (and Saul) is that up to 13:7 the order is constantly "Barnabas and Saul", and while Luke plainly changes the name "Saul" to "Paul" by deliberate intent and frequently thereafter changes the order to "Paul and Barnabas", he still preserves the original order of "Barnabas and Saul" in Acts 14:12, 14; 15:12, 25.¹

It is this "Barnabas and Saul" tradition, preserving the Jewish names, which particularly binds together the entire so-called "Antiochian" tradition (11:19-30; 12:25-14:26) as a unit of Jerusalem Church tradition, featuring Barnabas, despite Luke's failure to give us more than the bare mention of his name. Even Harnack, who regards 11:19-14:26 (omitting 12:1-24) as Antiochian tradition, is obliged to say as he recognizes the weight of this important Barnabas tradition:-

"We may not describe the Antiochian tradition as Pauline tradition but must characterize it by the three names -- Stephen, Barnabas, and Saul. In it St. Barnabas is regarded as equal to, indeed as superior in importance to St. Paul. ... Again, St. Barnabas is a prophet, St. Paul only a teacher. This again shows us that we are here concerned with a separate tradition which has been touched up by St. Luke. According to this source St. Paul was not the originator of the mission to the Gentiles; on the contrary, the men of Cyprus and Cyrene were first in the field, and were followed by St. Barnabas, and only in the third place by St. Paul."

In a footnote he strengthens further the position for a Barnabas-tradition:

"It is even possible that in the source St. Stephen and St. Barnabas were treated as the chief characters and that Saul played only a secondary part. In favor of this hypothesis we have 15:37 - 'Barnabas' was minded to take along with them John also, who was called Mark' (cf. also παραλαβόντα in v. 39) if we may press the words."

While we have Harnack to witness, a significant statement of his connects Acts 13-14 with the first half of Acts rather than with chapters 15-28, on the basis of the character of subject-matter.

¹ "This gradually increasing accentuation of the importance of St. Paul, and the gradual reduction of the importance of Barnabas, are certainly due to St. Luke and 15:12, 15. (Harnack, "Acts of the Apostles", p. 176)

² Harnack, A. *ibid.*, pp. 176-177

³ " " " p. 176

"It is easily recognized that the whole narrative of chapters 13-14 (with the exception perhaps of the scene at Lystra, where the people are about to sacrifice to the apostles) is enveloped in the same atmosphere of generality and superficiality which is characteristic of most of the accounts in the first half of the book. It is not that the author's representation of St. Paul is altogether different from his representation of the leading figures of the primitive community - in chapters 13 and 14 he shows that this is not so - but the difference in his treatment begins just at the point where St. Barnabas and St. Paul separate from one another because of St. Mark.* All that is narrated before this time is essentially of one type and all that is narrated afterwards is of a two-fold type (namely, that of the we-sections and that of the remaining parts) though this does not affect the unity of style and vocabulary which obtains throughout the whole book."¹

In other words, the difference in Luke's treatment begins just at the point where the Jerusalem Christian church tradition which he has used throughout chapters 1-15 leaves off. This is highly significant testimony to the validity of our position.

The "Acts of Barnabas (and Saul?)" include 4: 35, 37; 9: 1+30; 11: 22-30; 12: 25--15: 1-5, 12.

(3) "The Acts of the Seven"

There is a third documentary source to be discerned beneath the present Lucan record of Acts 1-15 which we may call by the familiar title, "The Acts of the Seven", for want of a better name. It features only two of the seven by name (Stephen and Philip) in our written records.

The arrangement of material by blocks would lead us to expect the presence and use of another source at 5:1 and this we find to be the case. Investigators of the source problem on other grounds have located another source at this point and our study accords with this finding.

This Jerusalem Church source extends from 5:1-8:13; includes 8: 26-40; and is last referred to in 11:19-21.

¹ Harnack, A. "Acts of the Apostles", p. 148

² (We have underlined this sentence because of its importance)

In 6:1-6 we have the account of the election of the seven Hellenistic Christians who were attached to the Jerusalem Church, "men of good report and full of the Spirit and of wisdom," (6:3). Stephen and Philip are definitely mentioned in 6:5, heading the list of the seven men named. They are definitely attached to the Jerusalem Church, being chosen by all the members and approved in a formal way by the "apostles" (6:6, 6). The activities of Stephen are narrated first and extend to 8:2, where he is put to death for his evangelistic zeal and a persecution is precipitated against the Hellenistic Christians of the Jerusalem church, who are scattered throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria. This source is put aside temporarily by Luke to introduce Saul and establish a nexus for the account of his conversion in 9:1-30. Our source is resumed in 8:4 with an account of the preaching activities of Philip, the second of the seven Hellenistic Christians of Jerusalem. Whether or not 8:1 be a condensed summary statement of Luke, ("And there arose on that day a great persecution against the church which was in Jerusalem: and they were all scattered abroad, the regions of Judea and Samaria except the apostles"), it is based on the source tradition and there is a double connection with what follows:-

(1) 8:4 ("they, therefore, that were scattered abroad went about preaching the word"), repeats the thought of 8:1 because of the intervening verse 8:3 which breaks in to advise of Saul's persecuting zeal.

(2) Luke selects the following Philip-narratives from the source to illustrate how the Gospel was spread in Judea and Samaria by those who were scattered abroad.

The source is resumed, then, at 8:5 with the narrative of Philip's preaching of the Gospel to the Samaritans, which is attended by the great

"signs"(8:6,13) and mighty "powers" (8:13) wrought by him. It is worthy of note that "signs and wonders" (and "powers") are associated exclusively with the Jerusalem Church tradition in Acts 1-15 and appear nowhere else in the book, (Acts 2:19,22,43; 4:16,22,30; 5:12; 6:8; 7:36; 8:6,13; 14:3; 15:12). They are characteristic of the three strains of tradition and reflect the early appeal of the extraordinary manifestations and phenomena both in connection with and dissociation from the operation of the Holy Spirit. One of the characteristics of Acts 1-15 is its strong coloring of the supernatural and miraculous. Because Luke makes no such use of "signs and wonders" in chapters 16-23 and its presence is one of the literary phenomena of Acts 1-15, it is most likely that it, too, like the Holy Spirit tradition, is embodied in his sources as a characteristic of the entire Jerusalem church tradition. Its use here in 8:6,13 is another indication that the Philip narratives are derived from a written source and not communicated orally by Philip to Luke.

At 8:14 Luke leaves the Philip source to take up the Petrine account of the Samaritan Christianity, whereby the Jerusalem apostles complete the work of Christianization which Philip has inaugurated. We have already noted that the summary statement of Luke in 8:25 indicates that there is more to the Petrine-Jerusalem account of the Christian work among the Samaritans than Luke is here giving us. Having accomplished his purpose to show the establishment of Christianity in Samaria, he turns again to the source he has just laid down and resumes at the point where Philip is divinely led to convert the Ethiopian eunuch to Christianity. This incident, ~~is~~ selected by Luke from a larger collection, served the double purpose of illustrating Philip's activity in the proclamation of the gospel in Judea and also the still wider extension of the Christian

gospel through the conversion of this black-skinned "proselyte of the gate" Having given an illustration to satisfy his purpose sufficiently, Luke inserts this source at 8:40, "But Philip was found at Azotus, and passing through he preached the gospel to all the cities till he came to Caesarea."). This summary statement is another evidence that there were other narratives of Philip's preaching activity on this tour which Luke does not make known to us.

"Kein Zweifel kann darüber bestehen, dass diese fragmentarischen Erzählungen von Philippus einem grösseren Zusammenhange entnommen sind, sei es einer Aufzeichnung des Lebens des Philippus oder einer Geschichte der Sieben. Denn speciell die Erwähnung von Azotus 8:40a weist, darauf hin, dass noch etwas folgte, was jetzt von unartem Verf. abgeschnitten ist und -- weist auf eine aufbereitete Tradition über ihn, die dem Verg. bekannt gewesen sein muss."¹

Acts 8:40 suggests some further narration of a Caesarean ministry of Philip at this point. Luke seems to follow the source of Saul's conversion, for which he has prepared his readers in 8:1, 3. When he returns to consider Caesarean Christianity, he prefers to use the Petrine source instead of that which recorded the activities of Philip, and gives the long, detailed, and important account of the conversion of Cornelius, which event centers at Caesarea (9:32-10:48). The use of the source describing the Christian mission to the Hellenists (8:25-40), which appears side by side with the account from the Barnabas-source giving the account of the conversion of Saul (9:1-30), is resumed in 11:19-22 and gives way to the Barnabas source at 11:23ff., where the extension of Christianity to Antioch is under consideration.

Acts 11:19 clearly attaches itself to the source 6:1-8:40 at the point 8:4. This connection is established by Luke's use of the same

¹ J. Weiss. "Ueber die Absicht und den literarischen Charakter der Apostelgeschichten". S. 16

words, "οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες διῆλθον", and refers back to those who were scattered abroad at the time of the persecution that arose about Stephen. This passage leads back to the realization that Antiochian Christianity was due in its beginnings to the missionary zeal of Hellenistic Christians belonging to the church at Jerusalem. It is expressly emphasized that the first persons to proclaim the gospel directly to the Hellenists at Antioch and establish Hellenistic Christianity there were certain "men of Cyprus and Cyrene". Their efforts met with a large measure of success and a flourishing church was established there. The names of these Christian missionaries are not given, though they must have been known, for shortly afterwards the report comes to the Jerusalem church, which sends Barnabas as its ambassador, which fact leads Luke to turn to the Barnabas tradition for the further and fuller record of the development of this Antiochian branch of the Jerusalem Christianity. Harnack suggests that the omission of the names of the founders was "only because they were not authorized prophets and teachers, or rather were not prophets and teachers by profession."¹ However this may be, 11:19-21 is a summary account of a fuller narrative concerning the origin and growth of Christian missions in Antioch as contained in the third source, describing the extension of Hellenistic Christianity, and belonging to the Christian church at Jerusalem. Acts 11:19-22 marks the last use of this source by Luke in this book.

There is one characteristic of this tradition describing the extension of Hellenistic Christianity from the mother church at Jerusalem which is expressed on every occasion that this source is used. These men

¹ Harnack, A. "Acts of the Apostles", p. 168.

who are set apart as administrators are not remembered for this service but for their activity and success in proclaiming the gospel. They become evangelists. Stephen is an evangelist; Philip is the evangelist who opens up Samaria and Judea to Christianity. The unnamed Hellenistic Christians founded the church at Antioch through their service as evangelists and proclaimers of the gospel.

"The Acts of the Seven" includes Acts 6:1-8:13; 8:26-40; 11:19-21.

In bringing to a close this consideration of the three Jerusalem-Christian documentary sources which underlie the record in Acts 1-15, we may observe a literary phenomenon which seems to bind still closer these separate traditions. "ἡ ἐκκλησία" appears only in the singular in Acts 1-15 to designate the church centering at Jerusalem. Sometimes the use to distinguish the mother church from the mission church, is locative but in all cases the term seems to denote the one Christian body of believers affiliated with the church at Jerusalem. Thus, Acts 5:11; 8:3; 9:31; 12:1; 15:3, 22; refer to the church at Jerusalem, while the locative use is indicated in 8:1; 11:22 ("the church which was in Jerusalem"); 11:26 (Antioch), 13:1 ("at Antioch in the church which was there"), 14:27 (Antioch). It is not until Acts 15:41 and 16:5 that reference is made to "the churches" and this is the term generally used in the second half of Acts.

The fact that Acts 1-15 constitutes a homogeneous entity (rendered so by "the Holy Spirit" tradition), made up of three different strands of written source material, and belonging to the primitive Christian church at Jerusalem, suggests C.C. Torrey's theory that Acts 1-15 is a literary unit, resting back upon an Aramaic written source-basis. But this question is neither included within the scope of this study, nor are we equipped to deal with the problem of Aramaic sources.

3. Sources for Acts 16-28

The scanty use of "the Holy Spirit" in the last half of Acts renders it improbable that the appearance of the phrase herein will have any important bearing upon the character and extent of Luke's sources.

Two of the ten references in Acts 16-28 are located in the "we"-sections where Luke himself was an eye-witness of the events described. Since Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" always presents a source basis, its occurrence in 21:4, 10 in connection with the prophetic utterances addressed to Paul simply adds a historical and realistic touch which further increases the credibility and historical value of the "we"-sections.

We have seen that the remaining eight references to "the Holy Spirit" in the rest of chapters 16-28 are grouped about four events in which Paul is the central person. In each case this use adds to the historical reality of the event described. In one particular instance, the account of the Ephesian ministry in chapter 19, the contribution is more significant.

It is the general consensus of opinion among modern New Testament scholars that Acts 16-28, excluding the "we"-sections, show no indication of dependence upon any written source or sources but only upon the reports of eye-witnesses who were always fellow-workers with Luke, and this view is confirmed by one test after another. Coming to it from the standpoint of the 'miraculous' character of the subject-matter, for example, we have already referred to Harnack's closely knit argument for the Lucan use of written sources for Acts 1-15 and of oral communications for data contained in the last half of Acts.¹ Our own findings confirm

¹ see page 216

this generally accepted conclusion.

In Acts 16:6,7 it is probable that this reference to the divine guidance and counsel, upon which Paul was dependent for his missionary movements came orally from the apostle himself, although Silas could have communicated it to Luke. This consciousness of divine guidance here is in complete accord with Paul's obedience to similar revelations of the divine will in reports distributed throughout this second half of Acts.

Chapter 19, which records Paul's ministry in Ephesus, is entirely distinct in character from the rest of Acts 16-28 and seems almost like a page torn out from Acts 1-15 and inserted here. The narrative in 19:1-27 is deeply saturated with the coloring of the supernatural and the miraculous which we find in the first half of Acts. The use of "the Holy Spirit" in 19:2,6 seems to echo the early Jerusalem days and the primitive Christian tradition. Paul's question to John's disciples in 19:2, "Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed?" and their answer, "Nay, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Spirit was given", recalls the usage in Acts 1-15. When Paul in 19:6 "had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came upon them and they spake with tongues and prophesied." How strongly this suggests the coincidence of the coming and activity of the Holy Spirit with Peter's ministry to the Samaritan Christians or to Cornelius and his household! That seems here to be either a strand of written tradition or an editorial implication in describing the event, is no more than the oral report of a Christian "fundamentalist" who harks back to a primitive Christian interpretation of the events described and makes use of its characteristic thought and language. All we have here is an expression of the extension of the Christian tradition of the primitive

Jerusalem church or circle to an individual Christian in Ephesus, -no unreasonable or strange occurrence. Naturally, the whole narrative is congenial to Luke, who is inclined favorably toward the miraculous and supernatural. The account in 19:1-20, and especially in 19:2, 6, may well have come from either Caius or Aristarchus, who are summarily mentioned in 19:29. We know that Aristarchus together with St. Luke met Paul a little later (20:4, 6), and that Aristarchus accompanies them on the voyage to Rome (27:2).

The third event associated with "the Holy Spirit" in this section is Paul's address to the leaders of the Ephesian church at Miletus (20:23), "The Holy Spirit testifieth unto me in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me", and the pastoral advice of 20:28 ("take heed unto yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit hath made you ἐπισκόπους."). These occurrences have added weight to the creditability of this speech which is recognized to be quite authentic even by those who deny in general the authenticity of the speeches in Acts.¹ The same may be said in general for those discourses of Acts which contain the use of "the Holy Spirit". The same occurrence of "the Holy Spirit" in 28:25, which introduces in a thoroughly familiar way a quotation from the Old Testament of which Paul makes use in his address to the departing Jews at Rome, adds its bit of weight to the creditability of the speech.

4. Sources for Luke 1 and 2.

We bring a few findings to the consideration of what bearing our study of Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" has upon the source problems connected with Luke 1 and 2:-

¹ "The concurrence of historical and philological criticism strongly favors the view that this speech is quite authentic." (Gardner, P. "The Speeches of Acts" in Cambridge Biblical Essays, p. 418.)

(1) "The Holy Spirit" is not used editorially by Luke but always has a source-basis.

(2) In Acts 1-15 we have located a definite Holy Spirit tradition which is attached to the primitive Christian Church at Jerusalem. There are at least three different collections of documentary material in the possession of the Jerusalem Christian Church: -Acts of Peter; Acts of Barnabas (and Saul?); Acts of the Seven.

(3) The Acts of Peter press back to the very beginnings of the Christian movement in Jerusalem and describe the earliest stages of its growth. (We cannot sub-divide the Acts of Peter into primary and secondary material by the test of "Holy Spirit" usage.)

The seven references to "the Holy Spirit" contained in chapters 1 and 2 of Luke's gospel are located as follows:-

Luke	Incident	Reference	Context
1:15	Angel to Zecharias	"He shall be filled with the Holy Spirit even from his mother's womb"	1:5-23
1:35	Gabriel to Mary	"The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee"	1:26-38
1:41	Visit of Mary to Elizabeth	"And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit"	1:39-56
1:67	Prophecy of Zech.	"And his father Zecharias was filled with the Holy Spirit and prophesied"	1:67-79
2:25	Simeon	"And the Holy Spirit was upon him"	2:22-35
2:26	"	"And it had been revealed unto him by the Holy Spirit"	"
2:27	"	"And he came in the Spirit in the temple"	"

In every reference the usage betrays its primitive Jewish-Christian character akin to that expressed in the earliest part of Acts (1-5). The underlying thought is Jewish, but it is more than Jewish, it is Christian. The Holy Spirit is regarded as a present possession to inspire prophetic utterance, indicating a post-Pentecostal, Christian consciousness. The familiar terminology of the Acts tradition appears. Zecharias is promised that John shall be "filled with the Holy Spirit". Both Elizabeth

and Zecharias were "filled with the Holy Spirit". "The Holy Spirit" is to "come upon" Mary. "The Holy Spirit" "came upon" Simeon, to whom had come a revelation "by the Holy Spirit". It was Simeon who came into the temple "in the Spirit".

As we note by relating our text to its context, both chapters are knit together by this primitive-Christian, Holy Spirit tradition belonging to the Jerusalem Church. The dominant idea is that all these individuals are but organs and instruments of the divine will and purpose which indirectly influences, guides, inspires, and controls their actions.

We cannot do everything we should like with our tool of criticism - "the Holy Spirit" usage. Because it limits the scope of our investigation so definitely, we cannot bring it to bear upon any linguistic or stylistic problem presented by the material with which it deals. It can, however, point in the direction in which literary and historical criticism may go with their instruments of investigation. It can confirm and supplement and further and assist. But by itself it cannot get at the roots of things or lay hold upon origins. Yet it is a valuable informant, as we have already seen.

So far as we are able to bring the findings unearthed by this method of criticism to bear upon the sources for Luke 1 and 2, we can say in some cases with practical certainty and in others with a high degree of probability:-

(1) They indicate with certainty a written source basis for Luke's use in verses in which "the Holy Spirit" appears, and with a very high degree of probability a written source basis for the context in which this text appears.

(2) Lk. 1 and 2 are not a free composition of the author. There is a documentary basis for at least his references to "the Holy Spirit"

and here Luke is reporting his source with finality. There is the strongest probability that he is doing likewise with respect to the context.

(3) The source-data underlying Lk 1 and 2 bear the definite impress of primitive Jewish-Christianity.

(4) This source material belongs to the circle of the Jerusalem Christian Church.

(5) It is no later in date than the tradition incorporated in Acts 1-5 and probably co-existed with this tradition.

(6) If this is true, this source material was undoubtedly incorporated by Luke himself as an integral part of the Third Gospel, and was not a later addition by some editor or redactor.

5. Luke's Version of Q.

Our study of the "Holy Spirit" usage in the Third Gospel alone led us to hold provisionally:-

(1) Luke in his use of "the Holy Spirit" was transmitting faithfully a tradition entailed in another and different version of Q than that used by Matthew.

(2) The Holy Spirit tradition is a chief characteristic of this version of Q and is the dominant, unifying feature of Lk 3:1-4:30.

Our intensive study in Acts establishes these as sound conclusions and informs us further with regard to Lk's Q source:-

(3) It bears the stamp of Jewish-Christianity, and is to be located within the circle of the Jerusalem community or church.

(4) The presence of this Holy Spirit tradition which binds together the narrative and discourse material associated with Jesus in 3:1-4:30 and is present elsewhere in discourse attributed only to Jesus, allows the

claim with high probability that Luke's version of Q is the earliest Christian tradition with regard to the teachings of Jesus. Then, Luke's Q is as early or earlier than the version used by Matthew.

This probability is confirmed by the results of independent investigations made on other grounds. On the basis of historical probability Streeter argues:-

"Most probably Q (the Greek translation) is an Antiochian translation of a document originally composed in Aramaic."¹

Presuming for the moment that this is true, it is far easier to account for the omission of "the Holy Spirit" elements contained in an Aramaic original and representing a purely Jerusalem tradition in a Greek translation for a Gentile Church than for the additions and insertions of "the Holy Spirit" in a source originally lacking it.

On the basis of carefully sifted evidence as to the Aramaisms in the Third Gospel, McLachlan indicates that there are about 86 Aramaisms in Luke of which 71 are in sayings and only 15 in narrative. Of these 71, 60 are contained in the sayings of Jesus. Consequently, he is led to say:-

"So far as the evidence goes, it suggests rather strongly that there is some special reason for Luke's Aramaisms being found so largely in sayings of Jesus. In other words, it points to an Aramaic Q used by Luke."²

Further, it is the sound judgment of Harnack, after his close investigations of the sayings of Jesus:-

"It is more ancient than St. Mark. The influence of "Paulinism" which is so strong in St. Mark is entirely wanting, and accordingly the main theme of St. Mark - that Jesus, his death and resurrection, form the content of His own gospel - is not found in Q... It is evident that Q was composed in Palestine - its Jewish and Palestinian horizon is quite obvious."³

¹ Streeter, B. H. "The Four Gospels", p. 223. cf. pp. 230-233.

² McLachlan, H. "St. Luke: The Man and His Work", pp. 63-64

³ Harnack, A. "The Sayings of Jesus", pp. 247-248

What can we say of the possible relationship between the Holy Spirit tradition embodied in Luke's version of Q and that of chapters 1 and 2? Most likely they are related to each other as primary and secondary traditions, in the same way that we find in Acts 1-5 that primary and secondary traditions and narratives exist side by side and yet both are impressed with the Holy Spirit tradition. The historical probability is that the tradition of Lk.1 and 2 is secondary and represents a development later than that presented to us in the Q source used by Luke.

V. A SUMMARY STATEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITIONS

The first important matter which received consideration was the inquiry whether our thesis presented a real problem. There was no doubt on the point of the ultimate objective, for the entire aim of the investigation has been to throw some light upon one of the unsettled problems of New Testament criticism -- the character of Luke's source material in the Third Gospel and in the Book of Acts. In fact, the driving urge was a special interest in the attractive problem of the sources behind Acts 1-16. This shaped the subject for investigation and extended the hope that some important findings might result.

The next essential question put was whether there was sufficient working material to produce sufficient evidence to establish some positive results. Luke's prominent and frequent usage of "the Holy Spirit" is an outstanding feature of his writings. In the gospel, the strategic location of such references rather than their great number (though considerably more than appear in the other synoptic gospels), invited investigation, while the predominant use of "the Holy Spirit" in the first half of Acts promised sufficient working capital, provided it could be shown that Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" was not editorial for literary effect, but established in documentary sources. To determine all this ~~this~~ constituted the first problem and task.

To this end we made a comparative study of all the references con-

tained in Luke's gospel from chapter 3 forward. Consideration of the usage in chapters 1 and 2 was postponed temporarily, since these introductory chapters are composed entirely of material peculiar to Luke and afford no basis for comparison. On the basis of all the available external evidence each reference was tested from the standpoint of textual reliability, compared with its corresponding passage in Mk or Mt, when they were present, with the object of determining the certainty or probability of a written source basis. Likewise, the idea-content of the respective uses of "the Holy Spirit" was projected. Occasionally, interpretation was added to criticism.

After this detailed treatment the gospels of Mk and Mt were examined to determine whether they contained any references to "the Holy Spirit" for which Luke had no parallel usage. In such cases the corresponding verses in the Third Gospel were dealt with in order, to consider the question whether Luke's omission was due to editorial preference or because the source at his disposal did not make use of "the Holy Spirit" at those points. In each case the latter was found to be most probable. The following findings of this analysis on the basis of external and internal evidence presented made it possible to state with a very high degree of probability that there was a written source-basis for Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel. Such usage was not due to editorial interpolation on account of personal preference for the idea.

(1) Mark contains six references to the Holy Spirit, (4 times in sayings of Jesus and twice in narratives concerning him), and preserves the correct literary form, τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἄγιον. Hence, there existed a Holy

Spirit tradition in written form prior to the writing of the Third Gospel.

(2) Mk.12:36(Mt.22:43);Mk.13:36(Mt.10:20) use "Holy Spirit" in sayings of Jesus, while Lk.20:42,21:15, the corresponding passages, omit this phrase and substitute some other expression. And Luke is most faithful when he transmits the words of Jesus. This is one of his literary characteristics.

(3) Luke's "Holy Spirit" references appear in non-Marcian sections and are derived from non-Marcian sources. Apparently, he is making use of a version of Q which differs from that used by Matthew.

(4) In not a single instance is there evidence of editorial insertion of "the Holy Spirit" on the part of Luke. The conclusions for a written source basis as against editorial insertion was held provisionally, pending an intensive examination of "the Holy Spirit" in Acts.

The investigation of "Holy Spirit" usage in Acts began with a separate, detailed treatment of the 42 occurrences of "the Holy Spirit" and the 12 references to "the Spirit" (as equivalent to God's Holy Spirit). This could not be a comparative study, since adequate external evidence and material for comparison were lacking. However, an examination of the available internal evidence made on the basis of textual reliability, the relation of text to context, literary style, idea content, etc., furnished material for certain observations in regard to the Lucan usage in Acts which could then be tested by the data of the historical development of the Holy Spirit tradition as it appears in other Christian literature. A compilation of the information afforded by this detailed examination was made and classified as "the Holy Spirit tradition in the Book of Acts". For there was found to be a historically coherent, unique, Christian tradition of the Holy Spirit attached to the primitive Christian

church at Jerusalem.

Then followed a comparison of the Holy Spirit tradition in the Book of Acts with the Synoptic and Pauline usage of "the Holy Spirit". It was found to occupy a middle position between the synoptic tradition on the one hand and the Pauline tradition on the other, both in its historical location in time and in the history of the development of New Testament thought concerning the Holy Spirit. It is post-synoptic and pre-Pauline and stands as a distinctly Jewish-Christian, primitive church tradition which our Gentile author, Luke, transmits with fidelity, showing no traces of the influence of Pauline thought in respect to the Holy Spirit.

With this preliminary yet important study made, we turned to the closer and more critical investigation of the Lucan usage to determine whether the use of "the Holy Spirit" in Acts directs us to posit editorial insertion or a written source basis. To this end there was presented a graphic exhibit in chart form of the distribution of all the references to "the Holy Spirit" arranged in the order of their appearance in Acts. This arrangement grouped the references under the headings: -Acts 1-15, Acts 16-28 (exclusive of the "we"-sections), and the "we"-sections - and indicated a total number of 44, 8, and 2 references in each respective group.

Then followed a careful examination of "the Holy Spirit" text in relation to its context, beginning with the "we"-sections, where we should most reasonably expect to find portrayed Luke's special interest in the Holy Spirit, if he had any such particular interest. The evidence brought forth the clear fact that while Luke betrays a fondness for events of a supernatural, extraordinary nature, he has neither a predisposition nor a preference for the use of "the Holy Spirit" as such. With every oppor-

tunity to do so, opportunity presented by data of a 'miraculous' nature which have parallels in Acts 1-15 in connection with which he has used "the Holy Spirit", Luke passes over such opportunities in the "we"-sections. It occurs only twice herein and in each case it is clear that Luke uses "the Holy Spirit" only because it was transmitted to him as a part of the narrative he was recording. It has a source basis.

Careful, close examination of the 8 references to "the Holy Spirit" contained in the remainder of Acts 16-28 brought us to the same conclusion. These 8 references are grouped about 4 incidents in which Paul is the chief person. 3 of these uses are found in words attributed to Paul himself, 2 are contained in narrative which he most likely communicated to Luke originally. The same holds true for the 3 references in Acts 19. The indication of this section is that Luke makes use of "the Holy Spirit" only because it is communicated to him by the sources at his command. In the cases thus far mentioned in Acts 16-28 this communication is most probably oral.

It is within Acts 1-15 that 44 of the 54 references to "the Holy Spirit" in the Book of Acts are contained, constituting a localized Holy Spirit tradition which renders the entire section homogeneous. The historical data here present are so evidently the outcome of the individual and group religious experience and life under the conscious control, guidance, and inspiration of the divine Spirit of God, and so evidently a living part of that corporate experience; the idea-content of the Holy Spirit is so thoroughly Jewish in its richness and diversity; the allied weight of the objective evidence already secured is so strong; --that when we consider in addition that the Gentile, Luke, was separated by time, space, temperament, and spirit from the religious experience and history

of the primitive Christian community whose life he depicts, it is historically irreconcilable and psychologically impossible that "the Holy Spirit" tradition in Acts 1-15 is a free composition on the part of Luke. Rather, he adopts the same attitude and literary method that we have seen in other sections of his writings. He transmits these Holy Spirit references in the form of a constructed tradition localized in Acts 1-15 and emanating from Jerusalem because and only because he found them first in the source material of which he made use.

The essential findings which have thus far emerged from the comparative study of "the Holy Spirit" usage in the Third Gospel and the intensive study of Acts, and which constitute propositions fundamental to the progress of the investigation to follow, were then gathered under the headings, "Observations and Findings" (pp. 19-201). Each study confirms the other! Separately and together they constitute a fund of positive, cumulative evidence which substantiates the conclusion beyond reasonable doubt that Luke used "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel and in Acts only because it was first communicated to him by his sources, either oral or written. In this respect Luke is transmitting his source material with fidelity. There is not an instance (except it be Acts 1:2) where Luke inserts "the Holy Spirit" editorially.

Having shown that "the Holy Spirit" in the Lucan writings is an integral part of the sources used by the author, we were then in a position to consider the bearing of these findings and conclusions upon the problem of Luke's sources. Naturally we selected Acts 1-15 as the starting-point for this investigation, since "the Holy Spirit" is used there more frequently than in all the remainder of Luke's writings.

The first presentation was a tabular exhibit of the 44 references

in this section in the order of their appearance, noting particularly the relation of such usage to persons and places. This exhibit clearly indicates a definite relationship between the activities of the Holy Spirit centered about the person of Peter and the place, Jerusalem. Peter is directly mentioned in connection with 28 of the 44 references, Jerusalem on 24 occasions. The exhibit reveals from the locations of "the Holy Spirit" text within its context that the entire section is closely knit together by this Holy Spirit usage. This is a striking phenomenon for which some explanation was needed. A re-reading of "the Holy Spirit" text in Acts 1-15 within its context and in the light of the observations presented by our exhibit, for the purpose of reconstructing the picture which the author has portrayed therein, reveals that we are in possession of a primitive Christian, Holy Spirit tradition belonging to the Jerusalem church and attaching itself inseparably to the history of the earliest days of Jerusalem Christianity and the later account of the extension of Hellenistic Christianity in Samaria, Judea, and Antioch as a movement originating within the Jerusalem church only itself. This Christian missionary movement is inaugurated by members of the Jerusalem Church, and in each mission post the work is approved, supervised, and furthered by the Jerusalem church through its strongest and ablest leaders. This expansive Christian missionary movement, for which the Jerusalem church acknowledges and accepts responsibility, embraces in turn Jews, Hellenists, and non-Semitic "God-fearers". Acts 1-15 gives us the picture of the advance of Christianity to the very threshold of purely Gentile Christianity as a movement solely within the one, central church at Jerusalem, and presented throughout from the standpoint of the Jerusalem church. This entire record as well as the underlying movement are

inseparably bound up with this single, primitive Christian Holy Spirit tradition which belongs to the early Jerusalem Church. This Holy Spirit tradition renders the entire presentation a homogeneous unit.

A compact and compressed grouping of the 44 "Holy Spirit" references in Acts 1-15 as contained in our tabular chart, presents an exhibit wherein the Lucan material in this section is found to exist in the form of distinct and good-sized blocks of data to be arranged in the order, - Peter-Stephen-Philip-Peter-Philip-Saul-Peter-Barnabas(Saul)-Peter-Barnabas(Saul)-Peter. This arrangement corresponds with Luke's treatment of his written source material in the Third Gospel. When we analyze these blocks of data separately, we find a connected relationship between these blocks which shows plainly that Luke is transmitting source material already existing in written, documentary form.

This consideration and treatment of these separate blocks of material lead us to discover that three distinct documents of primitive Christianity are preserved in Acts 1-15, all of which are a part of the tradition of the Jerusalem Christian Church, to which these documents belong. These three written sources underlying Acts 1-15 we have located roughly as follows:-

- (1) The Acts of Peter (1:7; 8:14-25; 9:32-11:18; 12:1-19; 15:6-11, 13-29)
- (2) The Acts of Barnabas (and Saul?) (4:36, 37; 9:1-30; 11:22-30;
12:25-15:1-5, 12)
- (3) The Acts of the Seven (6:1-8:13; 8:26-40; 11:19-21)

Bound by the limitations of our investigation and the form of "the Holy Spirit" instrument of criticism, we can only indicate the findings presented by this investigation. We cannot enter upon such considerations as language, authorship, or date either for these sources underlying Acts 1-15 or for any of the written sources used by Luke in his writings.

Our study of Luke's "Holy Spirit" usage has only a slight bearing upon the character of his sources for Acts 16-28, since there are but ten such references in the entire last half of Acts. However, what we do learn supports the widespread belief of New Testament scholarship that Luke himself was either a witness of the events described or he was dependent upon the oral communications of eye-witnesses for such narrative as he transmits. Our investigation does strengthen the credibility of Paul's speech at Miletus.

When we turned to inquire what bearing our investigation has upon the sources for Luke's Gospel, we considered the birth narratives of Lk. 1 and 2. The 7 references to the activity of the Holy Spirit in these two chapters constitute the literary thread upon which is strung most of the narrative herein contained. There is a definite source basis for the use of "the Holy Spirit" which bears the stamp of the primitive Jewish-Christian tradition belonging to the church at Jerusalem. This would indicate that such a source, including the tradition to which it is inseparably attached, existed as early as the tradition in Acts 1-5 and that Luke himself incorporated it in chapters 1 and 2 as an integral part of the Third Gospel.

The one remaining source to be considered was that underlying the major part of the Gospel. We had already seen that Luke was transmitting with fidelity the Holy Spirit references from some version of Q which differed from that used by Matthew, and that the Holy Spirit tradition was so intimately related to narratives and discourses associated with Jesus only as to constitute Lk. 9:1-24:49 a homogeneous entity. Our investigation permits us to assert that the existence of this Holy Spirit tradition within Q links this version of Q with the earliest Jewish-Christianity of Jerusalem. In fact, the claim may be made reasonably (to be tested

and established along other lines of historical and literary investigation) that Luke's recognition of Q represents the earliest Christian tradition concerning the teachings of Jesus.

Thus, this investigation of Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" in the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts has brought to light facts which have been demonstrated to have an important bearing upon the problem of the nature and character of the sources used by Luke in the composition of Luke-Acts, sources which still retain the impress of the author's own literary mannerisms and style.

VI. A SUMMARY OF EMERGENT CONCLUSIONS

As our investigation has progressed, certain observations and findings have emerged which provide cumulative evidence to establish certain positions and positive conclusions with regard to the object of our investigation,--the nature and character of the underlying sources used by Luke in the composition of the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts. We proceed to give a succinct, summary statement of these findings and conclusions:-

I--From the comparative study of "the Holy Spirit" usage in the Third Gospel,-

- (1) There is a written source basis for Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit". Such use is not due to editorial insertion.
 - (a) In Mark, one of our earliest documentary sources, there are four references to "the Holy Spirit" in sayings of Jesus, while "the Spirit" is used twice in narrative concerning him. Mark preserves the correct literary form "τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον" (Mk. 3:29; 12:36; 13:11).
 - (b) Mk. 12:36 (Mt. 22:43) and Mk. 13:36 (Mt. 10:20) use "the Holy Spirit" in sayings of Jesus for which another reading is preserved in Lk. 20:42; 21:15. This is significant, for Luke is especially faithful in transmitting sayings of Jesus.
 - (c) Luke is using a version of Q which differs from that used by Matthew. In it "the Holy Spirit" occurs in sayings and narrative confined strictly to Jesus.
 - (d) There is a Holy Spirit tradition associated with Jesus which is the dominant feature of Lk. 3:1-4:30 and renders this section homogeneous.
 - (e) There is not a single instance to furnish evidence that "the Holy Spirit" was inserted editorially on the part of Luke.

II--From the intensive study of "the Holy Spirit" usage in Acts,-

- (2) There is evidence of an historically accredited, unique, Christian, Holy Spirit tradition, which is localized in Acts 1-19, is attached to the primitive Christian church at Jerusalem, and which Luke transmits with fidelity, betraying no traces of the influence of Pauline thought of "the Holy Spirit", as we might naturally expect.
- (3) The "we"-sections indicate a proclivity on the part of Luke

for the 'miraculous' and extraordinary event but no particular interest in "the Holy Spirit". In 14 such instances, there are but 2 references to the Holy Spirit. In each case they are the utterances of Christian prophets of whom Luke was an auditor and are bound up with the incident which Luke is reporting.

- (4) In the remainder of Acts 16-28 there are 8 references to "the Holy Spirit" associated with 4 events in which Paul is the chief character. 5 of these most probably were communicated orally to Luke by Paul. 3 may have come from Paul but more probably were communicated orally by some other Christian present at Ephesus (Aristarchus or Taitus), whose interest in the supernatural is congenial to Luke. As in the "we"-sections, Luke passes over several opportunities which invite use of "the Holy Spirit", if he had any particular liking or inclination for its use. The clear indication is that in all 8 references Luke uses "the Holy Spirit" because and only because it was communicated orally to him by his source or sources.

- (5) In Acts 1-15 there is every indication of a source basis for the Lucan usage and no evidence for editorial insertion of "the Holy Spirit". -

- (a) 44 of the 54 references to "the Holy Spirit" in Acts occur in this section, thus localizing a primitive Holy Spirit tradition belonging to the Jerusalem church and thoroughly saturated with Jewish-Christian thought. This Holy Spirit tradition renders the entire section homogeneous.
- (b) The historical data are so inseparably a part of the Holy Spirit tradition that they appear as resultants while "the Holy Spirit" is the causative agent of the events recorded.
- (c) On the grounds of all available objective evidence thus far accumulated; of historical probability; of psychological possibility; of the fact that our Gentile author was separated from the religious events and attendant history which he records by from 30 to 50 years of time, as well as "space, temperament, and spirit"; -- it is historically improbable and psychologically impossible that Luke should have read "the Holy Spirit" into his sources.

The only reasonable explanation is that here he treats his underlying sources as he has done up to this point. He transmits the Holy Spirit tradition in Acts 1-15 and uses "the Holy Spirit" 44 times herein because and only because they were embodied in the sources used by him, the material of which he transmits with general fidelity.

- (6) All the available external and internal evidence presented by the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts indicate a source basis for the Lucan use of "the Holy Spirit".

III: -The bearing of these conclusions upon the problem of the nature and character of Luke's source material in his Gospel and Acts may be expressed as follows:-

(7) Sources for Acts 1-15,-

- (a) Acts 1-15 show that the Holy Spirit tradition belongs to the Jerusalem Christian church and centers chiefly about Peter. The tabular arrangement of "the Holy Spirit" references in the order of their appearance visualizes these. Peter is mentioned directly or by clear implication in 28 of the 44 instances; Jerusalem, in connection with 24 "Holy Spirit" references.
- (b) This Holy Spirit tradition is connected with the Jerusalem church throughout this section and is inseparably bound up with the description of the history of the earliest days of primitive Christianity in Jerusalem; then, with the expansion of Christianity among Jews, Hellenists, and non-Semites attracted by Judaism in Samaria, Judea, Caesarea, and finally, Antioch. This is all a Christian missionary movement originating and growing up within the fold of Jerusalem Christianity itself. It is inaugurated by members of the Jerusalem Church, and is approved, supervised, furthered, and regulated by the Christian church in Jerusalem through its most capable, official leaders.
- (c) Acts 1-15 thus presents the history of earliest Christianity exclusively from the standpoint of the Jerusalem Christian Church and embodies traditions which belong to this church.
- (d) By grouping together "the Holy Spirit" references in the order of their appearance, we discover 12 separate blocks of source material. Luke's literary methods in the Gospel, - presenting his written source data in alternate blocks, making use of one source at a time without conflation, and preserving the relative order of each source - are sustained by our investigation of these blocks of source material preserved in Acts 1-15 and clearly indicate his use of written sources herein.
- (e) We distinguish and locate 3 separate written sources underlying Acts 1-15 and belonging to the Jerusalem Christian Church. These sources may be designated thus:-
 Acts of Peter (1:5; 3:14-26; 9:32-11:18; 12:1-19; 13:6-11, 13-29)
 Acts of Barnabas (and Saul?) (4:36, 37; 9:1-30; 11:22-30; 12:25-15:5, 12)
 Acts of The Seven (6:1-3; 13; 8:25-40; 11:19-21)

(8) Sources for Acts 16-23

- (a) Our study supports the use of oral sources for the second half of Acts (except "we"-sections) by the scanty use of "the Holy Spirit" throughout. Such use is made only when the phrase is part of the data transmitted orally to Luke by an eye-witness or when he himself is an

auditor of the saying in which it is used.

- (b) The 2 references to "the Holy Spirit" contained in the speech of Paul to the elders at Miletus lend weight to the authenticity and reliability of this discourse.

(9) Sources for Luke 1 and 2,-

- (a) The 7 references to "the Holy Spirit" argue with certainty for a written source basis for this text, and with a high degree of probability for the context of which the text is an integral part:-i.e., practically the entire two chapters, since the Holy Spirit tradition makes them homogeneous.
- (b) This written source underlying the first two chapters of Luke's Gospel bears the definite impress of primitive Jewish-Christianity.
- (c) This source material belongs to the circle of primitive Christianity connected with the church at Jerusalem.
- (d) The Holy Spirit tradition herein is no earlier or later in date than the tradition incorporated in Acts 1-5 and was probably coterminous with this tradition.
- (e) In all probability, Luke himself included chapters 1 and 2 as an integral part of his gospel.

(10) Luke's Version of Q:-

Our study of the gospel references led us to accept provisionally the conclusions,-

- (a) Luke was transmitting with fidelity a tradition embodied in another and a different version of Q from that used by Matthew.
- (b) The Holy Spirit tradition is a chief characteristic of this Q and is the dominant feature of Lk. 3:1-4:30, constituting this section a homogeneous entity.

Our findings and conclusions from our investigation of Luke's use of "the Holy Spirit" in Acts establish these conclusions and enable us to assert the following:-

- (c) This recension of Q is to be linked with the primitive Jewish-Christian teaching of the church at Jerusalem.
- (d) The presence of this Holy Spirit tradition in definite association with narrative and discourse material strictly confined to Jesus in Lk. 3:1-4:30, and its presence elsewhere in discourses attributed only to Jesus, permit us to state with a reasonable degree of probability that this version of Q is the earliest documentary source to register the earliest Christian tradition with regard to the teachings of Jesus.

We come to the end of our investigation with a distinct realization of the limitations attached both to the study itself and the tool of form-criticism used to unearth such evidence as lies beneath the surface of our problem. One cannot dig gold with a shovel, but neither can an apprentice sink a shaft and bring to light the richest nuggets. However, as we indicated at the outset, we did not set out to solve and settle for all time all the problems related to Luke's source materials for the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts. We aimed, rather, to provide some facts and contributions which might be made the basis for further investigation along other lines of historical and literary criticism.

Hence, our sole purpose has been to make a closer approach to the problem of Luke's sources and by our findings to assist the progress of investigation which will define more and more closely the nature and character of this source material. We believe that some findings have been elicited which support and confirm the results obtained through other independent investigations along other lines of research. Likewise, we believe that some of the divergent conclusions may stimulate further research to the end of verification. We indulge the hope that these findings and conclusions herein contained may assist and stimulate this further investigation necessary with respect to the nature and character of the sources used by Luke in the composition of his Gospel and the Acts. Especially is this true for the first half of Acts¹, where the progress of criticism is still at the point of interrogation and has yet to reach the declarative stage.

¹"There is still much to do in Acts". (Weilhausen, J. "Nachrichten v. d. königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften u. Göttingen-Philologisch-historische Klasse", (1907), s. 21)

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